THE LIFE AND TIMES OF SHAIKH FARID-U'D-DIN GANJ-I-SHAKAR

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THE LIFE AND TIMES
OF
SHAIKH FARID-U'D-DIN GANJ-I-SHAKAR

By the same Author

1. Political Letters of Shāh Wali-ullah of Dehlī
2. Tārikh-i-Mashāikh-i-Chisht
3. Hayāt-i-Shaikh 'Abd-u'l Haqq Muhaddith-i-Dehli
4. Supplement to Elliot and Dowson's *History of India, Vol II*
5. Khair-u'l-Majālis (Critical Edition

DEDICATED

to

those moments of exquisitely pleasant spiritual agony

when

BABA FARID

alone in his tumbling hut — in the dead of the night, with his face lifted heavenwards and tears trickling down his cheeks, recited

خواهم که همیشه در هوای تو زیم
خاکی شوم و بزیر پای تو زیم
مقصود من بنده ز کونین توی
از بهر تو میرم و برای تو زیم

FOREWORD

A century has now passed since scholars began to realize the need of interpreting the history of Islam in terms of contemporary historical science The progress that has been made since then in many directions is undeniable, but every advance has only thrown into ever sharper relief the extent of the task still to be done The first and most urgent requirement was to fashion the external framework, to trace the historical growth of the Muslim Community in space and time Even in this field much still remains to be done in detail, but the outlines at least are firmly drawn The next, and more difficult, problem is to study this history in depth, to uncover its social mechanisms and show the working of its institutions to understand the interrelations of its component elements and evaluate the response of communities and individuals to successive material and moral challenges The vast extent and intricacy of these investigations need no exposition, and it will be many years before the student of Muslim history can see, or hope to see, the whole picture clearly displayed before him .The immediate need is for close monographic study of individual facets and problems relating to the social and economic aspects of urban and rural life and to the factors which moulded the attitudes and activities of different groups, combined with the search for surviving documentary materials of every kind

Pre-eminent among these problems relating to the life of the Muslim Community in all regions since the twelfth century is the activity and influence of the sufi shaikhs and orders It was into the sufi movement that the life-blood of the Community flowed ever more strongly No adequate history of Islam can be written until it, with all its causes and effects, has been studied patiently and with scholarly integrity In no region moreover, is this study more fundamental or more urgently required than in that of Islam in India Islam came into India in the wake of conquering armies and found itself confronted by a culture and civilization with which it had in the first centuries no point of contact and no common ground except in the one field of the mystical search Here the significance of Sufism in the life of the Muslim Community was redoubled by its significance in the non-Muslim environment Less even than Islam elsewhere can Islam in India be studied and understood without an insight into the meaning, causes and effects of the sufi movements.

No further argument is needed to demonstrate the importance of the studies now being directed by a small band of Indian Muslim scholars

into the heart of this problem, nor to underline its timeliness. The present work of Mr. Khaliq Ahmad Nizami takes its fitting place in this scholarly enterprise. Baba Farid is a seminal personality in the development of the Islamic mystical movement in India. The first necessity, before this movement can be historically (or even theologically) evaluated, is to situate such personalities in their own environment and to see them with the eyes of their contemporaries. This is what Mr. Nizami has done for Baba Farid, wisely and with good historical sense refraining from any attempt to import into his study either premature generalizations or the distorting views of later centuries.

H. A. R. GIBB

St. John's College,
Oxford, 28th April, 1955.

PREFACE

"There is
One great society alone on earth
The Noble Living and the Noble Dead"

The study of medieval Indian history has for long centred round the pomp and panoply of the courts and camps of the kings, and we have got into the habit of surveying 'the historical landscape from the foot of the royal throne'. But now a stage has been reached in our historical studies when we should turn to the humble dwellings of those saints and sages who, unspoilt by wealth and power and uncorrupted by court-life, dedicated their pious lives to the spiritual uplift of man. At a time when race for political power was the prevailing madness, they reminded men of their moral and spiritual obligations and in a world torn by strifes and conflicts they strove to bring about the harmony of a perfect orchestra.

If it is correct to say that ninety percent of the energies of our people in the middle ages were absorbed by their spiritual and moral efforts, the need and urgency of studying the lives of the saints can hardly be over-emphasized. In their life-stories we can find a glimpse of medieval society, in all its fullness, if not in all its perfection—the moods and tensions of the common man writ large, the inner yearnings of his soul, the religious thought both at its higher and lower levels; in fact, all problems with which the medieval people were faced. The medieval *khānqahs* were the places where the high and the low, the rich and the poor, the learned and the illiterate, men and women, villagers and town folk—all met and rubbed their shoulders together, leaving all class distinctions outside the *khānqah* gate. Here I have attempted, through the medium of the life-story of a leading saint of the time, to present an aspect of the spiritual quest of the middle ages.

This life-sketch of Shaikh Farīd-u'd-dīn Ganj-i-Shakar (1175-1265), is one of the series of monographs which I have planned on medieval mystics. To those people who have long concentrated on the military and spectacular affairs, this series extends an humble invitation in the words of Sanā'ī:

ای که شنیدی صفت روم و چین
خیز و بیا ملک سنائی ببین

('Oh Thou who has heard of the glories of Rum and China,
Get up and behold the realm of Sanā'ī.)

While preparing this small biography of a great medieval saint, my endeavour has been to make as critical and judicious a use of the available sources as possible In using contemporary works due allowance has been made for the attitude of the author, while in the case of later works an attempt has been made to remove that coating which legend and superstition have woven round the real figures of these saints Statements of later writers have been accepted only in cases where corroborative evidence from the earlier sources is forthcoming or where these statements do not run counter to contemporary authorities The fabricated literature of the period, which consists of a number of *malfūẓāt* and *dīwāns*, has been completely rejected in deference to Shaikh Naṣīr-u'd-dīn Chirāgh-i-Dehlī's verdict that they contain much which is not worthy of the Chishtī saints.

It is my pleasant duty to express my deep gratitude to Dr. Zākir Husain, Vice-Chancellor of our University, for the keen interest that he has taken in my work and to Professor Muḥammad Habīb and Professor Shaikh 'Abdur Rashīd for their kindness in going through the manuscript and suggesting many improvements Sir Hamilton Gibb has placed me under a heavy debt of obligation by writing a Foreword to this book. When I approached him with this purpose, he wrote to me "As regards the Foreword to your monograph on Shaikh Farīd-u'd-dīn Ganj-i-Shakar, I will say frankly that I do not as a rule write Forewords On the other hand, it would be absurd to adopt a hard and fast regulation which took no account of circumstances I shall not and cannot promise you here and now that you will get a Foreword from me, but I shall certainly read the typescript with interest and care, if you will be kind enough to send it, and if the work is what I hope and expect to find, then I shall willingly make an exception to the rule." Within a month of the despatch of the typescript he sent this Foreword to me for which I am very grateful to him Inspite of the association of these great names with this humble work, I alone am responsible for its imperfections and defects With great diffidence I place it before the kindly reader.

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November 20, 1955.

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INTRODUCTION

Shaikh Farid-u'd-din Mas'ūd Ganj-i-Shakar (1175-1265), popularly known as Bābā Farid, is one of the most revered and distinguished of medieval Muslim mystics. For many years his Khānqah at Ajodhan—the modern Pāk-Patan—was a place of pilgrimage for millions of people of all castes and creeds. Teeming crowds flocked to it and found spiritual solace in his company. A calm spiritual atmosphere pervaded his dwelling, and men who were secretly tormented by flames of mundane ambitions, found in his Khānqah 'the refreshing breeze of a different world'. He was a living light to which it was good and pleasant to be near and he inspired everyone who came into contact with him. To-day, when we think of him, thanks to the *Fawā'id-u'l-Fu'ād* of Amīr Hasan Sijzī and the *Siyar-u'l-Auliyā* of Amīr Khurd, a world of historic visions and memories glows into conciousness.

Bābā Farid lived at a very significant period of Indo-Muslim history. He saw the collapse of the Ghaznawid power in the Punjab, the march of the Ghurian armies into Aryavarta, the liquidation of Rajput power in Northern India and the final subjugation of Hindustan by the Turks. Later on, he heard the Mongols knocking at the gates of India and saw the panic and the fear which gripped the people at every Mongol incursion. The stream of Central Asian refugees flowed into his neighbourhood. The city of Dehlī—with her newly built minarets, mosques and tanks—rose into prominence in his life-time. He was in his thirties when Sultān Shihab-u'd-dīn Muhammad Ghuri was assassinated at Damyak and in his nineties when Balban ascended the throne of Dehlī. Thus the story of his life is an important aspect of the spiritual history of medieval India during its most momentous and significant years of hectic and restless political activity. At a time when the entire country was resounding with the din and clatter of the Ghurian arms, Bābā Farid sat cool and collected in his tumbling hut in a far-off town of the Punjāb, teaching lessons of human love and affection. Today the territorial achievements of Shihāb-u'd-dīn are tales of the past, but the message of Bābā Farid still echoes through the corridors of time.

Muslim mysticism is, in its essence, a message of love. It aims at creating harmony in the discordant elements of society. True to these ideals, Bābā Farid strove day and night to create that atmosphere of love and good-will which was, and is even to-day, the greatest desideratum of human society. A healthy social order—free from dissensions, conflicts, discriminations, hatred and jealousy—was the

thing he longed for. In love, faith, toleration and sympathy, which included even the enemy, he found the supreme talisman of human happiness. "Do not give me scissors", he told a visitor who had presented him a pair of scissors, "give me a needle I sew. I do not cut".

As I have shown elsewhere,[1] higher mysticism, as understood and interpreted by its best exponents, is nothing but service of humanity. Bābā Farīd's long life was spent in helping people in distress Every day hundreds of people brought their worries to him He heard everyone's problems sympathetically and, in his own peculiar way, created in his visitors that unshakable faith in God, respect for moral values and that proper attitude of mind which helped them in self-control in the midst of the severest tribulations and trials of life What Professor Mohammad Habīb has written about Shaikh Nizām-u'd-dīn Auliyā, may with striking aptness, be said with regard to him "He was not a miracle-monger of ordinary sort He never flew in the air or walked on water with dry and motionless feet. His greatness was the greatness of a loving heart, his miracles were the miracles of a deeply sympathetic soul He could read a man's inner heart by a glance at his face and spoke the words that brought consolation to a tortured heart"[2] If ever the overcrowding of visitors prevented him from paying individual attention to everyone, he would cry out "Come to me one by one so that I may attend to your problems individually" Tales of human sufferings racked his heart and seared his soul He suffered for others and shared their grief His kind words of sympathy and advice were like balm to the afflicted who came to him How correct is Barani's estimate of the Shaikh when he says, "He has taken the inhabitants of this region under his wings![3]"

Few saints in the long and chequered history of Indo-Muslim mysticism have subjected their physical self to such rigorous spiritual discipline as Bābā Farīd His life of 93 years is one long illustration of the way in which the Finite struggles to shatter all trammels of finitude and merges itself in the Infinite and lives for the Lord alone The *summum bonum* of his life is neatly epitomised in the verse which he very often recited

مقصود من بندہ ز کونین توئی
از بہر تو میرم از برائے تو زیم

(In both the worlds Thou alone art the Object that I cherish, I die for Thee and I live for Thee)

This dedication opened his soul to what Carlyle calls 'the Divine Significance of Life'.[4] He threw himself in line with the Divine Purpose

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[1] *Tārīkh-i-Mashāikh-i-Chisht*, published by the Nadwat-u'l-Muṣannifīn, Delhi, 1953

[2] *Hazrat Amir Khusrau of Delhi*, p 34

[3] *Tārīkh-i-Fīrūz Shāhī*, p 112

[4] *On Heroes & Heroworship*, Oxford Press 1912, p 116

and allowed the spirit of the Highest and the Best to have complete dominion over him. In his old age he used to say: "For forty years Mas'ūd did as God wished him to do, now what he wishes is one."[1]

Shaikh Farīd's God was neither a theological myth nor a logical abstraction of unity, but an all-embracing personality present in his ethical, intellectual and aesthetic experience and furnishing the inspiration for creating an ideal realm of values—the kingdom of heaven—in a distressed and struggling world.[2] Living upto the highest ideal of devotion in Islam,[3] he felt as if he was always in His presence,[4] and while offering his prayer he seemed to be communicating with the Infinite and the Eternal.[5] This conciousness of the Divine presence around him was the guide and motive of his active waking life and gave it a transcendent worth. He strove to understand Him in His dynamic relation to this finite world. This mystic belief in God had a value in terms of human life. It made him a citizen of that universal society in which God is the Supreme Intelligence and all human beings His manifestations. Besides, this belief gave to his frail human reed its unshakable strength, breadth of vision and independence of spirit.

Bābā Farīd's prayer was not a mechanical or lifeless formality. It was a mature activity of a heart overflowing with cosmic emotion. When he prayed he linked himself with that inexhaustible motive power that spins the universe. "People say," Shaikh Najīb-u'd-dīn Mutawakkil asked his brother one day, "when you pray, you hear God saying 'I am present my '*Abd* (Creature)'. Is it so?" It would have been pedantic to say 'yes' to this query and so he evaded the reply.[6]

Bābā Farīd believed that His existence could be felt only through proper cultivation of emotions. Intellect could, at best, give him an abstract concept of God. His emotions gave him the God of his worship—a living reality surrounding him. In the development of cosmic emotion and a spirit of love and concern for the well being of others, he found the way to His realization. He would bless every visitor with the words "May God give you *dard*", and as Shaikh Nizām-u'd-dīn Auliyā has explained, by *dard* the saint meant an eye full of tears and a heart full of emotions.[7] It is difficult to imagine the condition

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[1] *Khair-u'l Majālis* p 182.

[2] See *Siyar-u'l-Auliyā*, pp 558-559 Also *Tārīkh-i-Mashāikh-i-Chisht*, pp 46-54.

[3] The Prophet is reported to have said

الاحسان ان تعبد الله کانک تراه فان لم تکن تراه فانه یراک

"*Ahsān* means that you pray God as if you are seeing Him, or if you are not seeing Him, He is seeing you."

[4] *Fawā'id-u'l-Fu'ād*, p 203

[5] *Fawā'id-u'l-Fu'ād*, p 121

[6] *Fawā'id-u'l-Fu'ād*, p 121

[7] *Fawā'id-u'l-Fu'ād*, p 132.

of his own heart. His external appearance—firm, composed and unruffled—never betrayed the storms that raged within him. But one day when a dear disciple, Muḥammad Shāh, came to him, excited, worried and trembling, he could not help stating his own condition. "Why do you look so unhappy?" enquired the Shaikh "My brother is ill", replied Muhammad Shāh, "He may have died since I left him" "Muḥammad Shāh!", said Shaikh Farīd, "As you are at this moment, I have been like that all my life, but I have never expressed it to anyone[1]"

Bābā Farīd's mystic songs were, in fact, intended to break the strain on his emotions, to quicken his emotional response,[2] and to attune his heart to the Infinite and the Eternal Sometimes he would himself recite couplets and supply fuel to his burning emotions One day he recited the following couplet of the famous mystic poet Nizāmī

نظامی انچه اسرار است کز خاطر عیان کردی
کسی سرش نمی داند زبان درکش زبان درکش

and found such emotional pleasure that he went on reciting it throughout the day, late into the night and in the small hours of the morning, and every time that he recited it, its effect on his emotions was reflected in the rapidly changing expressions on his face[3] Sometimes he would close himself in his small room, walk up and down, lay his head in *sijdah* and pathetically recite verses[4] One day there was none to recite songs He asked Maulānā Badr-u'd-dīn Isḥāq to bring his bag (*kharīṭah*) of letters and recite the letter of Qāḍī Hamīd-u'd-dīn Nāgaurī Maulānā Badr-u'd-dīn stood up and began to read the letter He had hardly finished the introductory lines that the Shaikh's heart began to overflow with emotions and he found in the Qāḍī's letter the inspiration of a mystic song[5]

The Chishtī mystics believed that spiritual progress was incompatible with the life of *shughl*[6] and possession of power and property. All these things distracted emotions and stunted the growth of spiritual personality Bābā Farīd always kept away from politics and advised his disciples to eschew *shughl* and *jāgīrdārī* He used to say

گر وصال شاه می داری طمع
از وصال خویشتن مهجور باش

(If you long for meeting the King, give up hope of gnosis)

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[1] *Fawā'id-u'l-Fu'ād*, p 232

[2] 'سماع تحریک قلب است'—*Fawā'id-u'l-Fu'ād*, p 246

[3] *Fawā'id-u'l Fu'ād*, p 101

[4] *Fawā'id u'l-Fu'ād*, p 203

[5] *Fawā'id-u l-Fu'ād*, p 150

[6] In medieval literature the term *shughl* is almost invariably used for government service

Bābā Farīd's position in the history of the Chishtī *Silsilah* is unique. Disciple of a great saint, he was the teacher of a still greater saint. His association with Khwāja Quṭb-u'd-dīn Bakhtiyār Kākī on one hand and Shaikh Niẓām-u'd-dīn Auliyā on the other, gives him a pre-eminent place in the history of the Chishtī *Silsilah*. If Khwāja Mu'īn-u'd-dīn Chishtī introduced the *silsilah* in India and Khwāja Quṭb-u'd-dīn Bakhtiyār Kākī popularised it in Delhi and her neighbourhood, it was through the efforts of Bābā Farīd that the organization struck roots into the soil and spread far and wide. His piety, devotion and spiritual excellence attracted seekers after truth from distant parts of India as well as from lands beyond. Very rightly does 'Iṣāmī call him "the ruler of the realm of spiritual discipline (*Shāh-i-Mulk-i-Sulūk*)."[1]

Writing the biography of a medieval saint may be a tempting task, but it is fraught with difficulties. The main difficulty arises out of the nature of the source material. As years roll on, the real and human figure of a saint gets obscured by the legend and fiction which grows round him. These legendry stories may reveal the working of the mind of the people amongst whom they were current, but they do not help us, in the least, in understanding the saint himself or in interpreting his teachings properly. To remove these crusts is therefore, the first and, by far, the most difficult duty of any biographer.

Our earliest and the best source of information for the life of Bābā Farīd are the scattered stories and references found in the *Fawā'id-u'l-Fu'ād*, the Conversations of Shaikh Niẓām-u'-dīn Auliyā compiled by Amīr Ḥasan Sijzī.[2] As a devoted disciple of Bābā Farīd, Shaikh Niẓām-u'd dīn Auliyā refers to him again and again.

Next to the *Fawā'id-ul-Fu'ād* comes the *Khair-u'l-Majālis*,[3] Conversations of Shaikh Naṣīr-u'd-dīn Chirāgh-i Dehlī[4] compiled by Ḥamīd Qalandar. Shaikh Naṣīr-u'd-dīn's source of information was his master

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[1] *Futuh-u's Salāṭīn*, (Madras Edition) page 8.

[2] Amīr Ḥasan 'Alā-i-Sijzī (ob 736 A.H./1335 A.D.) was a distinguished disciple of Shaikh Niẓām-u'd-dīn Auliya. He was a fast friend of Amīr Khusraw and Ḍiā-u'd-dīn Baranī. He was a gifted poet (*Dīwān*, edited by Mas'ūd 'Alī Mahwī, Ibrāhīmiah Machine Press, Hyderabad). Baranī says that he was called *Sa'dī of Hindustan* (*Tārīkh-i-Fīrūz Shāhī* p 360). The most famous work of Amīr Ḥasan is the *Fawā'id-u'l-Fu'ād*. A small brochure on '*Ishq* (Love) named *Mukh-u'l-Ma'ānī* is also available in the Muslim University Library, Aligarh. For his life see Introduction to his *Dīwān*. *Nafaḥāt-u'l Uns* p 398-99; *Akhbār-u'l-Akhyār*, p 100-102.

[3] *Khair u'l-Majālis* has been edited by me and is being published by the Department of History, Muslim University, Aligarh.

[4] Shaikh Naṣīr-u'd-dīn Maḥmūd Chirāgh-i-Dehlī (ob 757 A.H./1356 A.D.) was an eminent disciple and successor (*Khalīfah*) of Shaikh Niẓām-u'd-dīn Auliyā. Originally a native of Awadh he settled in Dehlī at the order of his master and devoted his life to the propagation of the Chishtī mystic principles. He was one of those great Chishtī saints who opposed Sulṭān Muhammad bin Tughlaq's policy of forcing the saints to take up government service. For his life see Professor Mohd Habīb's excellent article "*Shaikh Naṣīr u'd-dīn Chirāgh-i Delhī as a great historical personality*", *Islamic Culture* Vol XX/2 April, 1946, pp 129-153.

Shaikh Nizām-u'd-dīn Auliyā, who was always ready to narrate some stories about his master to his disciples in order to bring home to them the principles of the Chishti *Silsilah*.

The *Siyar-u'l-Auliyā*[1] of Sayyid Muḥammad bin Mubārak Kirmānī, known as Amīr Khurd, a disciple of Shaikh Nizām-u'd-dīn Auliyā, is another very reliable and important source of information for the life of Bābā Farīd. It was written in 752-90 A.H./1351-88 A.D. Amīr Khurd belonged to a family which had been in close contact with Bābā Farīd. His grandfather, Sayyid Muḥammad Kirmānī, disciple of Bābā Farīd, had lived with the saint for 18 years and was in charge of the domestic duties of the Shaikh's household.[2] Amīr Khurd's father, Sayyid Nūr-u'd-dīn Mubārak, was also a disciple of Bābā Farīd.[3] Amīr Khurd has given in his book whatever he heard from his ancestors or his spiritual master.

Besides these three works, which are our main authorities, there are a number of *tadhkirahs* (biographies of saints) compiled in later centuries. Of this literature, the *Siyar-u'l-'Arifīn*[4] of Maulānā Ḥāmid bin Faḍl-u'llah known as Jamālī,[5] is the most important. The author had travelled widely in Muslim lands—Ḥejāz, Yemen, Palestine, Rūm, Syria, Irāq, Adherbaijān, Gīlān, Khurāsān etc.[6] and had made independent enquiries about some of the saints mentioned in his book.

The 17th century developed great interest in the lives of the medieval saints and a number of *tadhkirahs* appeared. In this literature Shaikh 'Abd-u'l-Haqq Muḥaddith Dehlawī's *Akhbār-ul-Akhyār*[7] is decidedly the best. As a trained Muḥaddith (scholar of the Traditions of the Prophet) the Shaikh has carefully applied the *Uṣul-i-Isnād* (Critique of Evidence) to his study of medieval saints. He has critically

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[1] Published by Chirangī Lāl, Dehlī, 1302 A H /1885 A D

[2] *Siyar-u'l Auliyā*, p 208-210

[3] Ibid p 210

[4] Printed at the Riḍwī Press, Delhi 1311 A H /1893 A D

[5] Maulānā Ḥāmid bin Faḍl-u'llah, popularly known as Darwesh Jamālī (ob 942 A H /1536 A D) was a mystic of the Suhrawardī order. He was a disciple of Shaikh Samā-u'd-dīn (ob 901 A H /1496 A D). He flourished in Dehlī from the time of Sulṭān Bahlul Lodī to the reign of Humāyūn. He accompanied Humāyūn on his expedition to Gujrāt where he died in 942 A H. He was buried in Dehlī, at a short distance south east of the Quṭb Minār. Shaikh Gadā'ī, who occupied the office of Ṣadr-u'ṣ-Ṣudūr during the regency of Bairām Khan, was his son. For biographical notices see *Akhbār-u'l-Akhyār* p 221-2, *Muntakhab-u't-Tawārikh* iii p 76, *Oriental College Magazine* x/1 H 147-59 and xi/1 p 76 et seq

[6] *Siyar-u'l-'Arifīn*, p 3

[7] Shaikh 'Abd-u'l-Haqq Muḥaddith Dehlawī (958-1052 A H /1551-1641 A D) was an eminent scholar and traditionist of the Mughal period. For more than half a century his seminary at Dehlī was the centre of religious learning in India. He popularised the study of the traditions of the Prophet in Northern India. He is the author of more than one hundred big and small works. For his life and works see K A Nizāmī *Ḥayāt-i-Shaikh 'Abd-u'l-Haqq Muḥaddith-i-Dehlī*, published by the *Nadwat-u'l-Muṣannifīn*, Dehlī, 1953

examined the material and has drawn as accurate a picture of the saints and scholars of medieval India as is possible [1]

Though not so accurate as the *Akhbār-u'l-Akhyār*, the *Gulzār-i-Abrār*[2] is, never-the-less, a valuable work on the Indo-Muslim saints Muḥammad Ghauthī Shaṭṭārī (born in 962 A H /1554 A D) was a pupil of Sayyid Wajīh-u'd-dīn 'Alawī[3] (ob. 998 A H /1589 A D) His work, compiled between 1014-1022 A H /1605-1613 A D is particularly helpful with regard to the descendants of Bābā Farīd in the South.

Besides we also have the following *tadhkirahs*

- i) *Akhbār-u'l-Aṣfiyā* by 'Abdus Ṣamad bin Afdāl Muḥammad
- ii) *Mir'at-u'l-Asrār* by Maulānā 'Abd-u'r Raḥmān Chishtī
- iii) *Majma'-u'l-Auliyā* by Mīr 'Alī Akbar Ḥusainī Ardistanī
- iv) *Siyar-u'l-Aqṭāb* by Allah Diyah Chishtī
- v) *Jawāhar-i-Farīdī* by 'Alī Aṣghar Chishtī
- vi) *Safīnat-u'l-Auliyā* by Dārā Shikoh
- vii) *Ma'ārij-u'l-Walāyat* by Ghulām Mu'īn-u'd-dīn
- viii) *Matlūb-ut Ṭālibīn* by Muḥammad Bulāq Chishtī
- ix) *Rauḍah-i-Aqṭāb* by Muḥammad Bulāq Chishtī
- x) *Iqtibās-u'l-Anwār* by Muḥammad Akram
- xi) *Shajrat-u'l-Anwār* by Maulānā Raḥīm Bakhsh Fakhrī

'Abdus Ṣamad was a nephew of Abū'l Faḍl. He completed his book *Akhbār-u'l-Aṣfiyā* in 1014 A H /1605-6 A D It has not been published so far [4] The *Mir'at-u'l-Asrār* was completed in 1065 A H / 1654 A D It contains biographical notes on all Muslim saints, Indian and foreign. Maulānā 'Abd-u'r Raḥmān's[5] account of Bābā Farīd, his sons and disciples, is detailed but at some places uncritical The work has not been published [6] The *Majma'-u'l-Auliyā*, compiled in

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[1] *See Ḥayāt-i-'Abd u l-Ḥaqq* p 200-204

[2] Persian text has not been published so far MSS in the Libraries of the Asiatic Society of Bengal (dated 1155 A H /1742-43 A D) Lindensiana (dated 1078 A H /1667-8), Āṣafiyah and Habibganj An Urdu translation was published from Agra in 1326 A H

[3] Sayyid Wajīh-u'd-dīn 'Alawī was a distinguished scholar of his age He started his *madrasah* at the age of 20 and taught scholars for 70 years in that seminary His pupils were drawn from different parts of the country Jahāngīr speaks very highly about him in his *Tuzuk* p 211

[4] MSS in Peshawar (dated 1089 A H /1678-9), India Office (dated 1099 A H /1687 8 A D) and Bankipur Libraries

[5] Maulānā 'Abd-u'r Raḥmān was a descendant of Shaikh Aḥmad 'Abd-u'l Ḥaqq Rudaulwī (ob 836 A H /1434 A D) and succeeded in 1032/1622 A D to the headship of a local branch of the Chishtī Silsilah at Rudauli He is the author of a number of books Among them *Mirāt-u'l-Makhluqāt*, *Mirāt-u'l-Ḥaqāiq*, *Nafas-i Raḥmānī* *Aurād-i-Chishtiyah*, *Mir'at-i-Madārī* and *Mirāt-i-Mas'ūdī* deserve to be noted He was a good scholar of Sanskrit and the first two of the above mentioned books are based on Hindu mythological works He died in 1094 A H /1683 A D

[6] MSS in the libraries of the Asiatic Society of Bengal (dated 1088 A H / 1677-8 A D), Bankipur (dated 1220 A H /1800 A D), Āṣafiyah (dated 1309 A H / 1891-2) and the British Museum (dated 1189 A H/1775 A D) I have used my personal MS which contains no date

1043 A.H /1633-34 A D. was dedicated to Shāh Jahān (1037-1068 A H / 1628-1658 A D). It has not been published as yet. An autograph copy is available in the India Office Library

The *Siyar-u'l-Aqtāb* of Allah Diyah[1] was completed in 1056 A H / 1646 A D It has been published several times from Lucknow[2] The *Jawāhar-i-Farīdī* completed in 1033 A H /1623 A D, contains detailed but mostly uncritical and unreliable account of Bābā Farīd and his descendants. 'Alī Asghar says that he wrote his book "to elucidate the complex genealogical relations of the descendants of Sh Farīd-al-Dīn Ganj-i-Shakar, who were so numerous that he had been surnamed Adam-i-Thānī and many imposters had been able to claim privileges to which they were not entitled"[3] The fact, however, remains that the *Jawāhar-i-Farīdī* has added to, rather than removed, the confusion It was published from Lahore in 1301 A H An Urdu translation is also available.[4] The *Safinat-u'l-Auliyā* completed in 1049 A H /1640 A D contains very brief notices of Muslim saints It was published from Agra in 1269 A H /1853 A D An Arabic version by Shaikh Ja'far Ṣādiq of Gujrat (1064 A H /1653 A D) is also available in manuscript The *Ma'ārij-u'l-Walāyat* is a detailed encyclopaedia of Indo-Muslim saints A very valuable MS of this work is in possession of the writer of these lines It was completed in 1094 A H /1682 A D and covers about two thousand pages Its accounts are detailed and within certain limits very critical What increases its value most is the fact that the author has given extensive extracts from the writings of the saints and scholars discussed by him The account of Bābā Farīd alone runs over 20 folios, while that of his disciples covers 26 folios

The *Maṭlūb-u'ṭ-Ṭālibīn* and the *Rauḍah-i-Aqṭāb* are works of Muḥammad Bulāq who claims to be a descendant of Shaikh Niẓām-u'd-dīn Auliyā's sister The first book is a detailed biography of Shaikh Niẓām-u'd-dīn Auliyā, his elder saints and their disciples It was compiled in 1111 A H /1699 A D It has not been published so far[5] The *Rauḍah-i-Aqṭāb*[6] deals mainly with Khwāja Quṭb-u'd-dīn

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[1] Allah Diyah Chishtī, a descendant of Shaikh Jalāl-u'd-dīn Pānīpatī, was a disciple of Shāh A'la Pānīpatī He lived in Kairanah, near Pānīpat. His grandfather Shaikh Binā was a noted surgeon of Akbar's time His uncle Muqarrab Khān, Jahāngīr's surgeon and friend, was governor of Gujrat, Bihār and Agra in Jahangīr's reign and was given the *parganah* of Kairanah as a *jāgīr* Allah Diyah and his two brothers took part in Shāh Jahān's march towards Kābul Storey *Persian Literature*, p 1003

[2] Nawal Kishore, Lucknow 1877, 1881, 1889 1913

[3] Storey *Persian Literature* p 986

[4] Printed at the Karīmī Press, Lahore I have used a MS in my personal collection It has been very carefully collated with other MSS by Diwān Allah Jawāyā Ṣāḥib, a *Sajjādah-nashīn* of Bābā Farīd's Dargah

[5] MSS in India Office and Muslim University Aligarh Libraries I have used my personal copy

[6] Printed at the Muḥib-i-Hind Press, Dehlī 1887 A D

Bakhtiyār Kākī, but gives brief notices of other eminent Chishti saints also. The *Iqtibās-u'l-Anwār* of Muḥammad Akram was completed in 1142 A H /1729 A D. It was published from Lahore in 1895 The *Shajrat-u'l-Anwār*[1] contains biographical notices of the Chishti saints of India. The author was a disciple of Shāh Fakhr-u'd-din (ob 1199 A H / 1784 A D). Among still later works reference may be made to the *Khazinat-u'l-Aṣfiyā* of Maulanā Ghulām Sarwar Lāhorī, the *Anwār-u'l-'Ārifīn*[2] of Ḥāfiz Muḥammad Husain Moradābādī and the *Manāqib-u'l-Maḥbubīn*[3] of Maulānā Najm-u'd-dīn

These works were compiled when legends were rapidly growing round these saints However, this later literature has been utilised by me great care and only after considerable scrutiny Their mistakes have been pointed out and their exaggerations have been noted wherever necessary

In the middle ages a literary convention of incorporating accounts of the saints in political works somehow developed and became very popular But Minhāj-u's-Sirāj, the author of *Tabaqāt-i-Nāṣiri*,[4] who was a contemporary of Bābā Farīd does not refer to the saints at all Muḥammad Ghauthī records his disapproval of Minhāj's omission Diā-u'd-dīn Baranī refers to Bābā Farīd but in a casual way [5] Later histories, like the *Tārīkh-i-Muhammadi*[6] of Muḥammad Bihāmid Khan, compiled in 842 A H /1438-39 A D, the *Ā'in-i-Akbari*,[7] *Firishtah*[8] the *Khulāsat-u'-Tawārīkh*[9] and others give some notices of Bābā Farīd All these works have been used in preparation of this life-sketch of Bābā Farīd Detailed bibliography appears in Appendix F

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[1] It has not been published so far My MS was copied in 1281 A H

[2] Published by Newal Kishore, Lucknow, 1876

[3] Printed at Thamar-i-Hind Press, Lucknow, 1873 A D

[4] Edited by Nassau Lees & others Bib Indica Calcutta 1864, another edition by A Chaghtāī Lahore 1952 English Translation by H C Raverty, Bib Indica Calcutta, 1897

[5] *Tārīkh i-Fīrūz Shāhī*, (edited by Sayyid Ahmad Khān, Bib Indica Calcutta 1862), p 112

[6] MS in British Museum (Or 137) ff 144-146 Rotograph in Rewa College Library

[7] Edited by Sayyid Ahmad Khān

[8] Newal Kishore Press, Lucknow

[9] Edited by K B Zafar Hasan, printed at J and Sons Press, Delhi, 1918

CHAPTER I

Birth, Parentage and Ancestry

The 12th century of the Christian era was a period of stress and storm in 'Ajam Powerful Turkish tribes were constantly pressing westwards in search of more living space (*lebensraum*) They established kingdoms and on pressure from the east moved further west. Every tribal movement was followed by a vast shifting of the population Numerous ruling dynasties thus came to grief and many a prince left his home to hide his head in safer climes Among the many unhappy people whom this terrible population-pressure uprooted from their homelands was one Qāḍī Shu'aib [1] He left Kābul[2] and reached Lahore with his "three sons, followers, army and family",[3] probably owing to the Ghuzz invasion (552 A H /1157 A D) [4]

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[1] *Siyar-u'l-Auliyā*, p 59, *Siyar-u'l-Aqṭāb*, p 163, *Mir'at-u l-Asrār* (MS) p 542, *Ma'arij-u'l-Walāyat* (MS) Vol I, p 49 Jamālī (*Siyar-u'l-'Arifīn* p 31, and, following him, *Firishtah* (Vol II, p 383) say that Jamāl-u'd-dīn Sulaimān was the first of the ancestors of Bābā Farīd to enter India

[2] The author of *Maṭlūb-u ṭ-Tālibīn* says that he came from Ghaznīn (f 98 a)

[3] Amīr Khurd further says that Qāḍī Shu'aib's father was murdered by Chengiz Khān and it was under the pressure of the Mongols that Qāḍī Shu'aib had to leave his home This does not appear to be correct Qāḍī Shu'aib came to India before 1175 A D more than forty years before the Mongols occupied these territories *Siyar-u'l Auliyā* p 59 See also, *Mir'at-u'l-Asrār*, MS , *Ma'arij-u l-Walāyat*, MS The author of *Siyar-u'l-'Arifīn* makes the curious statement

پدر بزرگوار او جمال الدین سلیمان از طرف کابل در عهد سلطان شهاب الدین غوری خواهر زادهٔ سلطان محمود غزنوی در طرف ملتان آمده بود

(His revered father Jamāl-u d dīn Sulaimān had come from Kābul, to the side of Multān during the reign of Sulṭān Shihāb-u d-dīn Ghurī, who was the son of Sulṭān Mahmūd Ghaznawī's sister)

The *Siyar-u'l-Aqṭāb* says

پدر بزرگوار آنحضرت خواهرزادهٔ سلطان محمود غزنوی است

p 163

(The revered father of the saint was the son of Sulṭān Mahmūd Ghaznawī's sister) Firishtah, with a better historical insight simplified it

پدر . در عهد سلطان شهاب الدین غوری از کابل به ملتان آمده

Vol II, p 383

(His father came to Multan from Kābul during the reign of Sulṭān Shihāb-u'd-dīn Ghurī)

[4] The migration of the Ghuzz to Muslim territory began towards the end of the 10th century (See Barthold's article in *The Ency of Islam* II, pp 168-169) In 548 A H /1153 A D the Ghuzz tribes rose against Sulṭān Sanjar, took him prisoner and devastated Khurāsān and several other provinces In 552 A H /1157 A D they attacked Ghaznīn Minhāj writers "A horde of the tribe of Ghuzz, who had acquired dominion and power in Khurāsān, in the reign of the august Sulṭān Sanjar, marched an army against Ghaznī Khusrau Shāh was unable to resist them, and he accordingly retired into Hindustan, and Ghaznīn was lost to them, and fell into the hand of the Ghuzz They retained possession of that territory for a period of twelve years " (Raverty, pp 111-112)

It seems that the ancestors of Bābā Farīd came to India under the pressure of this Ghuzz irruption during the reign of Khusraw Shāh (ob 559 A H /1163 A D)

Captain Wade places their arrival earlier He says "The ancestors of Shekh Farid U'-din first came to Multan in the train of Behram Shah of the Ghaznavi family " *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, March* 1837, pp 192-193)

Qāḍī Shu'aib, however, did not find the gay atmosphere of Lahore congenial and moved to Qasūr.[1] The Qāḍī[2] of the place received him cordially and informed the Sulṭān about the circumstances under which the members of this distinguished family had to leave their homes and seek refuge in the Ghaznavid kingdom of Lahore. In a very sympathetic and polite message the Sulṭān asked him as to what service he could render them. Qāḍī Shu'aib, who had had enough of worldly glory, replied that he did not want any worldly office or rank. "We do not want to run after a thing which has been lost to us,"[3] said Qāḍī Shu'aib with mystic indifference Nevertheless the Sulṭān[4] entrusted to them the Qāḍiship of Kahtwāl.[5] Qāḍī Shu'aib left Qasūr and settled at Kahtwāl

One of the Qāḍī Shu'aib's three sons was named Jamāl-u'd-dīn-Sulaimān.[6] He married in Kahtwāl a daughter of Shaikh Wajīh-u'd-dīn Khojendī,[7] Qarsum Bībī by name. Farīd-u'd-dīn Mas'ūd was born sometime in 571 A.H./1175 A.D.[8] He was the second of the three sons of Jamāl-u'd-dīn—the eldest being 'Izz-u'd-dīn Maḥmūd,[9] and the youngest Najīb-u'd-dīn Muḥammad Mutawakkil.

According to Amīr Khurd, Qāḍī Shu'aib belonged to a ruling family of Kābul which had attained to greatest power under a king named

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[1] Qasūr is 34 miles south-east of Lahore, and is a place of great antiquity General Cunningham identified it with one of the places visited by Hiuen Tsang in the 7th century *Imperial Gazetteer*, II, 'p 29

[2] The author of *Siyar u'l-Auliyā* writes that in his sense of justice, impartiality and gentlemanly behaviour the Qāḍī of Qasūr was the pride of the qāḍīs of the age (p 59)

[3] *Siyar-u'l Auliyā*, p 59

[4] The author of *Ma'arij-u'l-Walāyat* makes a mistake when he writes

پس خلیفہ دہلی قضا قصبہ کہتیوال تفویض نمود

(MS Vol I p 50)

Dehlī had not yet been conquered This appointment was made by the Ghaznawid ruler of Lahore

[5] Kahtwāl was a town in the district of Multān between Mahārān and Ajodhan. To-day it is a small village known as Mashaikh-ki-Chāwalī (See, "*Journal of Captain C M Wade's voyage*," in *J A S B*, March 1837, p 193—"Chawe Mushaikh, a village on the banks of the Satlej ")

Kahtwāl is differently spelt in different works *Siyar-u'l-Auliyā* gives Kahtwāl on p 59 and Kahtwala on p 62 *Khair-u'l-Majālis* (p 219) has Kothiwal The printed text of *Siyar-u'l-'Ārifīn* (p 32) has Khuluwāl, the MS (p 46) gives Kothiwal *Gulzār-i-Abrār* has Kotwal (MS) *Mir'at-u'l-Asrār* (MS. p 542) has Khatwala *Siyar-u'l-Aqṭāb*, (p 163) has Khaniwal and so on

[6] Nothing is known about Shaikh Jamāl-u'd-dīn except that he was appointed Qāḍī of Kahtwāl after the death of his father and was buried in Kahtwāl *Siyar-u'l-'Ārifīn*, p 32, *Ma'arij-u'l-Walāyat*, (MS)

[7] *Siyar-u'l-'Ārifīn*, p 32, *Mir'at-u'l-Asrār*, (MS) pp 542-43 *Siyar-u'l-Aqṭāb* p 164, *Rawḍah-i-Aqṭāb*, p 58 No later or contemporary writer gives any information about Shaikh Wajīh-u'd-dīn Khojendī

[8] There is some difference of opinion about his date of birth The author of *Siyar-u'l-Auliyā* says that he was born in 569 A H and that he attained the age of 95 years (p 91) It appears from *Fawā'id-u'l-Fu'ād* that he lived for 93 years (p 53) If we calculate on the basis of *Fawā'id-u'l-Fu'ād*, the date of his birth would be 571 A H and not 569 A H as given by *Siyar-u'l-Auliyā* I have preferred *Fawā'id-u'l-Fu'ād* to *Siyar-u'l-Auliyā*

[9] The printed text of *Siyar-u'l-'Ārifīn* (p 32) wrongly gives his name as 'Izz-u'd-dīn Muḥammad

Farrukh Shāh. When the Ghaznawid power rose Kābul was annexed by the Ghaznawids and the descendants of Farrukh Shāh were reduced to the position of ordinary citizens History does not throw any light on this Farrukh Shāh. His status and position consequently remain a myth [1]

Muhammad Ghauthi has traced the descent of Bābā Farid from the Caliph 'Umar [2] The author of *Siyar-u'l-Aqṭāb* gives the following genealogical table

Shaikh Farid-u'd din Mas'ūd Ganj-i-Shakar
bin Shaikh Sulaimān
bin Shaikh Shu'aib
bin Shaikh Muhammad Ahmad
bin Shaikh Yusuf
bin Shaikh Shihāb-u'd-din known as Farrukh Shāh Kābuli
bin Fakhr-u'd-din Mahmud
bin Sulaimān
bin Shaikh Mas'ūd
bin Shaikh 'Abd-u'llah Wā'iz-a'l-Asghar
bin Wā'iz-a'l-Akbar Abu'l Fath
bin Shaikh Ishāq
bin Shaikh Nāṣir
bin Shaikh 'Abd-u'llah
bin Amir-u'l-Muminin 'Umār Fārūq [3]

When Shaikh Farid-u'd-din Mas'ūd saw the light of the day, the Ghaznawid Empire of Lahore was fast declining Khusraw Malik, the last of the Ghaznawids, utterly unfitted to shoulder the burden of the State, had, according to Minhāj "abandoned himself wholly to pleasure

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[1] *Siyar-u'l Auliyā*, pp 58-59 All subsequent writers following *Siyar-u'l-Auliyā*, speak of Farrukh Shāh as the king of Kābul, while in the *Zubdat-u'l-Maqāmāt* (Newal Kishore Press, 1307 A H) he is spoken of as a nobleman and a wazir of the Sultāns of Kābul (p 88)

Shaikh Ahmad Sirhindi, popularly known as Mujaddid i-Alf-i-Thāni (ob 1034 A H /1624 A D) also traced his descent from Farrukh Shāh *Zubdat-u'l-Maqāmāt*, p 88

[2] *Gulzār-i-Abrār*, (MS)

Long ago a small brochure was published by the late Pir Sayyid Rashid Ahmad Rizwi Ṣāhib under the title *A lān-i-Sayyadat-i-Faridi* (Rizwi Press, Amroha, 1332 A H) in which an attempt was made to prove that Bābā Farid was a Sayyid His arguments have not been generally accepted

[3] *Siyar-u'l-Aqṭāb*, p 163

Genealogical tables as given by subsequent writers differ from one another Cf *Jawāhar-i-Faridi* (MS), *Khazinat u l-Asfiyā*, Vol I, p 287, and others However, the tradition of Bābā Farid being a Fārūqi is so convincing that no discussion is necessary The present writer is in possession of very interesting discussions and *fatwahs* on this subject The controversy was started by the author of *A'lān-i-Sayyadat-i-Faridi*

while the servants of the state and governors of the country exercised independent power" [1]

Shihāb-u'd-dīn, who had been appointed governor of Ghaznīn in 569 A H.[2] by his brother Ghiyāth-u'd-dīn began his encroachments on the Ghaznawid ruler's territories. He marched towards Multān in 571 A.H. and delivered it from the hands of the Carmathians.[3] A few years later he attacked Lahore, but "the affairs of the Mahmudī empire had now approached their termination, and the administration of that government had grown weak, Khusrau Malik, by way of compromise, despatched one of his sons, and one elephant, to the presence of the Sultān-i-Ghazi" [4] Shihāb-u'd-dīn Ghurī occupied Sialkot in 581 A H / 1185 A D and a year later dislodged the Ghaznawids from the Punjāb Khusraw Malik was taken prisoner and sent to the castle of Balarwan in Gharjistān, where he was put to death in 588 A.H /1192 A.D

Though the political power of the Ghaznawids declined and they were ultimately displaced by the more virile Ghurids, their occupation of the Punjāb had changed the entire pattern of social life in that region. Eminent saints, poets, scholars and administrators had migrated to Lahore from distant parts of the Muslim world Shaikh Husain Zanjānī,[5] Shaikh 'Alī Hujwirī,[6] Mas'ūd Sa'd Salmān,[7] Albairunī,[8] Abu'l Farj Rūnī,[9] Sultān Sakhī Sarwar[10] and others made deep and far-reaching contributions to the religious and cultural life of the region The Punjāb became a half-way house between the Central Asian Muslim lands on one side and the flourishing Rājput kingdoms on the other. From the Punjāb the Muslims filtered into the Gangetic valley and

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[1] *Tabaqāt i-Nasirī*, p 76

[2] Raverty, p 449

[3] Ibid, p 449

[4] Ibid, p 45?

[5] *Fawā'id u'l-Fu'ād*, p 35

[6] Shaikh 'Alī Hujwīrī, popularly known as Datā Ganj Bakhsh (ob after 1074 A D) came from Ghaznī and settled in Lāhore where he wrote his famous book *Kashf-u'l-Mahjūb* (Persian text published from Gulzār-i-Hind Steam Press Lāhore, English translation by R A Nicholson London 1936)

[7] Mas'ūd Sa'd Salmān (ob 1121) was a notable poet of the Ghaznawid period Amīr Khusraw informs us in his preface to the *Ghurrat-u l-Kamal* that Mas'ūd had left three *dīwāns* —in Arabic, Persian and Hindi

[8] Abu Raihān Albairunī (973-1048) came to India during the reign of Sultān Mahmūd He taught here the Greek sciences and in exchange made himself acquainted with the achievements of Hindu learning The results of these studies he used for his great work *Kitāb-u'l-Hind* See, Elliot and Dowson's *Histroy of India* (Second edition 1953), *Supplement* p 777-779

[9] Abu'l Farj Rūnī was an eminent poet of the later Ghaznawid period He was born and educated in Lāhore (*Rūn* was a village in the Lahore district) Several poems of his *dīwān* are addressed to Sultān Ibrāhīm Ghaznawī (1059-1099) and Mas'ūd bin Ibrāhim (1099-1114)

[10] Sultān Sakhī Sarwar was an eminent saint of Lāhore He was held in high esteem by the Hindus A Hindu tribe of the Punjāb is known after his name as *Sultānī*

established small colonies at Ajmer,[1] Badā'ūn,[2] Qannauj,[3] Bahrā'ich[4] and other places.

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[1] Khwāja Mu'in-u'd-din Chishti settled at Ajmer before the conquest of Dehli *Siyar-u'l-Auliyā*, p 46

[2] Maulānā Radi-u'd-din Hasan Saghānī, the famous author of the *Mashāriq-u'l-Anwār* was born in Badā'ūn (*Fawā'id-u'l-Fu'ād*, p 103) in 1181 A D, six years after the birth of Bābā Farid and ten years before the battle of Tarain

[3] See, R S Tripathi's *History of Qannauj*

[4] Sayyid Salār Mas'ūd Ghāzī's tomb belongs to the Ghaznawid period (*Baranī*, p 491) and the fact that his grave survived through the centuries that intervene between the Ghaznawid invasions and the Ghurian occupation of Northern India shows the existence of a Muslim population which kept alive the story of Salār's martyrdom and handed it to posterity

CHAPTER II

Childhood and Early Education

Bābā Farīd's first teacher whose influence was most lasting on him was his mother—Qarsum Bībī It was she who kindled that spark of Divine Love in him which later dominated his entire being, and moulded his thought and action. Well has Shaikh Nizām-u'd-dīn Auliyā remarked in this context "A son is strongly influenced by the piety of his parents [1]"

Qarsum Bībī was a lady of fervent piety [2] She kept awake all through the night engaged in her prayers. Numerous anecdotes relating to her piety and devotion are found in mystic works. One night thieves entered her house but were so moved by a hallow of piety and saintliness which radiated from her face that they repented of their sins and vowed to lead an honest life thereafter.[3]

Under the care of so pious and saintly a mother Bābā Farīd developed from his very childhood a spirit of intense devotion to God. When still in his adolescent years he became known in Kahtwāl for his deeply mystic bent of mind.

While on his way to Dehlī, the eminent mystic Shaikh Jalāl-u'd-dīn Tabrīzī[4] passed through Kahtwāl He enquired from the people whether there was any mystic in the town. They replied in the negative but added that there was the Qādī's son, Farid-u'd-dīn, who though commonly regarded as mad (*Qādī bachchan diwānā*) was always busy in his devotions and prayers behind the city-mosque Shaikh Jalāl-u'd-dīn went to see him On the way some one presented a pomegranate to

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[1] *Fawā'id u'l-Fu'ād* p 121

[2] *Akhbar-u'l-Akhyār*, pp 287-88 *Siyar-u'l-Aqṭāb*, p 163 164, *Ma'ārij u'l-Walāyat* MS

[3] *Fawā'id-u'l Fu'ād*, pp 121-22 In Jamālī's days the grave of this thief, who later became a saintly person was visited by people who sought his spiritual benedictions *Siyar-u'l-'Ārifīn*, p 32, See also, *Siyar-u'l-Aqṭāb*, p 164

[4] Shaikh Jalāl-u'd-dīn Tabrīzī was an eminent disciple of Shaikh Abu Sa'īd Tabrīzī After the death of his master he associated himself with Shaikh Shihāb-u'd-dīn Suhrawardī and followed him on his long and arduous mystic itineracies. He was a very close friend of Shaikh Bahā-u'd-dīn Zakariyyā and Khwāja Quṭb-u'd-dīn Bakhtiyār Kākī When he reached Dehlī, Iltutmish gave him a hearty welcome and showed great respect to him Najm-ud-dīn Ṣughra, the Shaikh-u'l-Islām of Dehlī grew jealous of his influence and, in order to disgrace him in the eyes of the Sulṭān brought charges of adultery against him These charges were proved to be utterly baseless but Shaikh Jalāl left for Bengal in disgust and said "When I came to this city (Dehlī) I was pure gold, but at this moment I am silver" (*Fawā'id u'l-Fu'ād*, p 112) For his life see *Siyar-u'l-Ārifīn*, pp 164-171; *Akhbār-u'l-Akhyār*, pp 43-44, *Jawāma'-u'l-Kilam*, p 25-26 *Gulzār-i-Abrār* (MS), *Ma'ārij-u'l-Walāyat* (MS) See also *Shekashubhodaya* (A Sanskrit work dealing with legends about the Shaikh), edited with English Introduction by Sukmar Sen, Calcutta

him Shaikh Jalāl took it as a present for Bābā Farīd and, breaking it, offered it to him Bābā Farīd was fasting, and did not partake of it When Shaikh Jalāl-u'd-dīn had left, he found a pomegranate seed lying on the ground He picked it up, tied it to his handkerchief (*dastārchah*) and ate it at the time of *iftār*. This single seed caused a sudden spiritual illumination within him He deeply regretted why he had not accepted the whole of the fruit which would have given him more spiritual blessings, but later when Bābā Farīd met Shaikh Quṭb-u'd-dīn Bakhtiyār and expressed his regret at not having eaten the whole fruit, Shaikh Bakhtiyār remarked "All the spiritual blessings was in that one seed, it was destined for you and it reached you There was nothing in the rest of the fruit [1]"

When young Farīd was talking to the eminent visitor from Tabriz, his trouser (*sarāwīl*) was in shreds and he had continually to hide one hole or the other Shaikh Jalāl-u'd-dīn realized his anxiety and said "There was a *darwesh* in Bukhārā who was busy in education For seven years he had no trousers (*izār*) and wore only a loin-cloth (*futah*). Do'nt be worried See what happens [2]"

Though Bābā Farīd had not, as yet, gone out of Kahtwāl, his reputation had travelled far and wide Shaikh Bahā-u'd-dīn Zakariyyā, the famous Suhrawardī saint of Multān, expressed his desire to see him at this time [3]

IN MULTAN

After finishing his early education in Kahtwāl, Bābā Farīd proceeded to Multān [4] He was then only 18 years of age He joined the *madrasah* in the mosque of Maulānā Minhāj-u'd-dīn Tirmidhī, near the Sarā'i-Halwā'ī Here he committed to memory the entire text of the Qur'ān and began to recite it once in twenty four hours [5]

One day Bābā Farīd was reading *Nāfa'*—a book on Muslim Law Khwāja Quṭb-u'd-dīn Bakhtiyār Kākī had come to Multān from Aush and was staying in that mosque Bābā Farīd's insight discerned in the visitor a spiritual teacher of infinite capabilities Khwāja Quṭb-u'd-dīn busied himself in prayers soon after his arrival and Bābā Farīd

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[1] *Khair u'l-Majālis* p 219-220, *Siyar-u'l-Auliyā*, pp 62-63, *Jawama'-u'l-Kilam*, p 316 This remark of Khwāja Quṭb-u'd-dīn Bakhtiyār Kākī is responsible for the practice amongst the Chishtīs to eat the entire pomegranate, lest the sacred seed be missed

[2] *Siyar-u'l-Auliyā*, p 62-63

[3] *Siyar-u'l-Auliyā*, p 60 It is remarked in some *tadhkirahs* [*Siyar-u'l-Aqṭāb*, p 176, *Jawāhar-i-Farīdī* (MS)] that the mothers of both these saints were real sisters There is nothing in contemporary records to support this

[4] *Siyar-u'l-Auliyā* p 60 Multān was, at that time, a great seat of Muslim learning Amīr Khurd writes "In those days Multān was the *Qubbat-u'l-Islām* and erudite scholars were present there' (p 60) Later, Qubāchah's unbounded generosity raised it to a pre-eminent position in the literary centres of the age

[5] *Khair-u'l-Majālis*, p 220 *Siyar u'l-Auliyā*, pp 60-61 *Siyar-u'l-'Arifīn*, pp 36 *Gulzār-i-Abrār* (MS) *Siyar-u'l-Aqṭāb* p *Rauḍah-i-Aqṭāb*, p 58

sat down near him with the book in his hand, eagerly waiting for the moment when the Shaikh would finish his prayers. After his prayers, the Khwāja turned towards him and asked sympathetically "Maulānā! What book is this?" "It is *Nāfa'*," replied Bābā Farid. "May there be *naf'* (benefit) for you in its study", said Khwāja Bakhtiyār. "There is benefit for me in your mercy and blessings," submitted Bābā Farid and then placed his head at the feet of the Khwāja and recited the following verses [1]

مقبول تو جز مقبل جاوید نشد ∴ ور لطف تو هیچ بنده نومید نشد
عونت بکدام ذره پیوست دمی کان ذره به از هزار خورشید نشد

"He, who is approved by you, is approved eternally
And no one is disappointed of your blessing
Your mere attention to any particle, even for a while
Makes it better than a thousand suns"

Khwāja Quṭb-u'd-dīn was staying in the mosque when Shaikh Bahā-u'd-dīn Zakariyyā arrived. The Suhrawardī saint did not like the stay of Khwāja Quṭb-u'd-dīn in Multān and considered it an undesirable intrusion into his own spiritual jurisdiction. The polite way of asking a saint to leave one's jurisdiction (*walāyat*) was to place his shoes in the direction one would like him to go. Shaikh Bahā u'd-dīn Zakariyyā did so and Khwāja Quṭb-u'd-dīn Bakhtiyār, taking the hint, left for Dehlī [2] Bābā Farid accompanied him and was admitted into his discipleship at Dehlī [3] Amīr Khurd says that eminent persons like Qādī Ḥamid-u'd-dīn Nāgaurī,[4] Maulānā 'Alā-u'd-dīn Kirmānī, Sayyid Nūr-u'd-dīn Mubārak Ghaznāwī,[5] Shaikh Niẓām-u'd-dīn Abu'l Muway-

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[1] *Khair-u'l-Majālis*, p 220

[2] *Siyar-u'l-Auliyā*, p 61 Maulānā Jamālī, himself a Suhrawardī, says that Qubachah had requested Khwāja Quṭb-u d-dīn to settle permanently in Multān, but he refused with the remark "This region has been placed under the spiritual protection of Shaikh Bahā-u'd dīn Zakariyya and it will remain under him for ever" *Siyar-u'l Arifīn*, p 20

[3] *Siyar u'l-Auliyā* p 61 The author of *Siyar u'l-'Arifīn* however says that he was initiated in Multān He accompanied his master upto three stages only Then the Shaikh asked him to go back to Multān with the remarks "Bābā Farid! Remain busy in external education along with this other worldliness and celibacy Come to Dehlī afterwards" (p 36) Jamālī further adds that Bābā Farid was only 18 years at this time

[4] Qādī Hamid-u'd-dīn was a disciple of Shaikh Shihāb-u'd-dīn Suhrawardī He was a close friend and companion of Khwāja Quṭb-u'd-dīn Bakhtiyār Kākī His erudition and learning raised him in the estimation of his contemporaries His works were numerous, but few have suvived He was extremely fond of *Samā'* (audition parties) and it is said that it was he who popularised it in Dehlī For biographical references, see *Akhbār-u'l-Akhyār* p 36-43, also *Fuwāh-u's-Salāṭīn* p 114

[5] Sayyid Nūr u'd-dīn Mubārak Ghaznawī was another eminent saint of the Suhrawardī order He was the disciple of Shaikh Shihāb-u'd-dīn Suhrawardī and was respected for his scholarship and learning He estabilsed close personal contact with Iltutmish and was appointed *Shaikh-u'l-Islām* by him. The people of Dehlī used to call him *Mīr-i-Dehlī* For brief biographical notices, see *Tārīkh-i-Fīrūz Shāhī*, Baranī, p 41-44, *Akhbār-u'l-Akhyār*, p 28-29, *Gulzār-i-Abrār* (MS)

yid,[1] Maulānā Shams-u'd-din Turk and Khwāja Mahmūd Mu'inah Dōz[2] were present at the time of *bay'i* (initiation).[3]

According to the *Siyar-u'l-'Arifin*,[4] Bābā Farid remained in Multān and completed his education as his master had instructed him. Jamālī further states that the Shaikh went to Qandhār for higher studies and stayed there for five years.[5]

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[1] Shaikh Nizām-u'd-din Abu'l Muwayyid was an eminent contemporary of Khwāja Qutb-u'd-din Bakhtiyār Kākī His sermons were extremely effective and interesting Shaikh Nizām-u'd-din Auliyā had, in his earlier days, seen him. Shaikh Jamāl who lies buried in Kol (Aligarh) was his descendant. See *Akhbār-u'l-Akhyār*, p 45

[2] Khwāja Mahmūd Mu'inah Dōz was a disciple of Qādī Hamid-u'd-din Nāgauri He used to spend most of his time in the Khānqah of Khwāja Qutb-u'd-din See *Akhbār-u'l-Akhyār*, p 49

[3] *Siyar-u'l-Auliyā*, p 61

[4] *Siyar-u'l-Aqtāb*, (p 164) follows *Siyar-u'l-'Arifin* Allah Diyah says that the Shaikh continued to acquire knowledge in Multān for five years and then went to Dehlī to be admitted into the discipline of Shaikh Qutb-u'd-din Bakhtiyār Kākī

[5] *Siyar-u'l-'Arifin*, p 36 According to Muhammad Ghauthī he went to Seistān also (*Gulzar-i-Abrār* MS)

CHAPTER III

At the feet of Khwaja Qutb-u'd-din Bakhtiyar Kaki

Khwāja Qutb-u'd-dīn Bakhtiyār Kākī[1] (ob 633 A H /1235 A D) at whose feet Bābā Farīd decided to lay his head was an outstanding mystic of his age. He was a native of Aush[2] which was a great centre of the Hallājis[3] and was considerably influenced by the Wujūdī[4] doctrines The Khwāja received his early training from his mother. Later he learnt the *Qur'ān* with Maulānā Abu Hafs [5]

After finishing his education at Aush, Khwāja Qutb-u'd-din Bakhtiyār turned towards Baghdād which was at that time the cultural centre of Islam. Here the discourses of such eminent mystics as Shaikh 'Abd-u'l-Qādir Gīlānī,[6] Shaikh Shihāb-u'd-dīn Suhrāwardī,[7] Khwāja

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[1] For his life, see, *Siyar-u'l-Auliyā* pp 48-57, *Siyar-u'l-'Arifīn* pp 16-31, *Akhbār-u'l-Akhyār*, pp 24-26, *Gulzār-i-Abrār* (MS), *Mir'at-u l Asrār*, (MS). *Siyar u'l-Aqtāb*, pp 142-161 and *Rawdah-i-Aqtāb*, pp 3 30

[2] Aush is a town in Farghānah south-east of Andijan For Bābur's praise of the town, see *Tuzuk-i-Baburī* (King s Edition) Vol I, p 3 Prof Louis Massignon wrote to me in a letter "I have published from the Russian translation of Sidikov a Qaraqyrapghy text in praise of Hallaj (=Mansur), in the *Revue des Etudes Islamiques*, 1946, 77-78, proving that Osh was a centre of the Mansuri Sufis "

[3] A Ṣūfī order named after the famous Persian mystic Abu'l Mughith al-Husain bin Manṣūr al-Hallāj (244-309 A H /858-922 A D) The doctrines of the Hallājiya order may be thus summarised

a in *Fiqh* the five *farāid*, even the Hajj may be replaced by other works (*isqat-a'l-wasa'it*)

b in *Kalām*, God's transcendence (*tanzih*) above the limits of creation (*tūl, ard*) the existence of an uncreated Divine spirit (*Rūh i-Nātiqah*) which becomes united with the created *Rūh* (spirit) of the ascetic (*hulūl-a'l-lāhūt-fi'l-nāsūt*), the saint becomes the living and personal witness of God, whence the saying *An'-l-Haqq* "I am creative Truth"

c in *Tasawwuf*, perfect union with the divine will through desire of and submission to suffering

[4] The doctrine of *Wahdāt-u'l-Wujud* means that God and the Universe are not two separate entities, but form one unity Existent is one This soon becomes Identyism—that it is identical with everything else, which in the end passes on to pantheism,—that it is God and God is all Shaikh Muhi-u d-din Ibn-i-'Arābī (ob 638 A H /1240 A D) was its powerful exponent and the Mujaddid i-Alf-i-Thānī (ob 1034 A H /1624 A D) was its firm opponent For details see Dr Burhān Aḥmad Fārūqī's *The Mujaddid's Conception of Tauhīd*, (published by Shaikh Muḥammad Ashraf, Lahore)

[5] *Khair u'l-Majālis*, p 108

[6] Shaikh 'Abd-u'l-Qādir Gīlānī (1077-1166 A D) was the founder of the Qadiri order of mystics He was an erudite scholar, with a keen intuition and a clear and unerring judgement His sermons had a magical effect on the audience In these sermons, "he figures as an earnest, sincere and eloquent preacher" (Margoliouth) The following collections of his sermons are very well known *Futuḥ-u'l-Ghaib* (Cairo, 1304), *Al-fath-u r-Rabbānī* (1302) His biographical details may be read in Shattanawfi's *Bahjat u'l Asrār* (Cairo, 1304), and Dhahabī's *Tārīkh-i-Islām* (published in *J R A S*, 1907) p 267 at seq

[7] Shaikh Shihāb-u d-dīn Suhrawardī, '1145-1234 A D) was an eminent saint of the Suhrawardī order His best known works are the *'Awārif-u l-Ma'ārif* and the *Kashf-u'l-Nasā'ih-u'l-imaniyah-wa-Kashf-u'l-Fada'ih-u'l-yunāniyah* See also, *Nafaḥāt-u'l-Uns* pp. 307-308

Mu'in-u'd-din Chishti,[1] Shaikh Auhad-u'd-din Kirmani,[2] Qadi Hamid-u'd-din[3] and others drew large audiences and exercised considerable influence on Muslim thought and ways Khwaja Qutb-u'd-din Bakhtiyar Kaki met Shaikh Mu'in-u'd-din Chishti in the mosque of Imam Abu Laith Samarqandi in Baghdad and was so deeply impressed by the spiritual greatness of the saint that he became his disciple[4]

When Khwaja Mu'in-u'd-din Chishti proceeded to India, Khwaja Qutb-u'd-din also followed him by a different route He stayed in Multan for some time, and then left for Dehli Shaikh Qutb-u'd-din's arrival in Dehli synchronizes with a very important phase in the history of India's great capital To this city flocked eminent Muslim saints, divines and scholars from all sides and the enlightened and liberal patronage of Sultan Iltutmish offered them a safe haven of refuge.[5] When Khwaja Qutb-u'd-din Bakhtiyar Kaki reached Dehli from Multan, Iltutmish heartily welcomed him and requested him to stay near his palace The Khwaja having refused, Iltutmish made it a point to visit his Khanqah outside the city twice a week[6] Once the Khwaja thus advised the Sultan

> "O ruler of Dehli! It is incumbent on thee to be good to all poor people, mendicants, durweshes and helpless folk. Treat all men kindly and strive for their welfare Everyone who thus behaves towards his subjects is looked after by the Almighty and all his enemies turn into friends[7]"

Iltutmish offered to him the post of *Shaikh-u'l Islam*, but the saint declined to accept it[8] On his refusal Shaikh Najm-u'd-din Sughra was appointed to this post A vain and conceited man, Sughra could not tolerate the presence of anybody more influential than himself at the court and so he maliciously and unsrupulously tried to run people down He brought the charge of adultery against Shaikh Jalal-u'd-din Tabrizi[9] He was equally jealous of Shaikh Qutb-u'd-din who was revered

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[1] Khwaja Mu'in-u'd-din Chishti, the famous founder of the Chishti *Silsilah* in India For his life *Siyar-u'l-Auliya*, pp 45-48, *Siyar-u'l-'Arifin*, p 4 et seq, *Akhbar-u'l-Akhyar*, pp 22-24

[2] Shaikh Auhad-u'd-din Hamid al Kirmani was an eminent disciple of Shaikh Qutb-u'd-din Albahri and had associated with the great mystic Shaikh Muhi-u'd-din Ibn-i 'Arabi who has referred to him in his famous work, *Futuhat-i-Mecciah* For brief biographical notice, see *Nafahat-u'l Uns*, p 385-387

[3] See note Supra

[4] *Siyar-u'l-Auliya* p 48

[5] *Tabaqat-i-Nasiri*, p 166, *Futuh-u's-Salatin*, p 100-110

[6] *Siyar-u l-'Arifin*, p 21

[7] *Risalah-Hal-Khanwadah i-Chisht*, MS, f 17 b

[8] *Siyar-u'l-'Arifin*, p 21 Jamali says that this offer was made after the death of Maulana Jamal-u'd-din Muhammad Bustami (p 21), but this does not seem to be correct It appears from a perusal of *Tabaqat-i-Nasiri* (Raverty p 702) that Maulana Bustami survived Iltutmish and was appointed Shaikh-u'l-Islam by Sultan Nasir-u'd-din Mahmud in 653 in A H

[9] *Siyar-u'l-'Arifin* p 167, *Akhbar-u'l-Akhyar*, p 43, *Gulzar-i-Abrar* (MS).

by the Sulṭān and the people alike.[1] Khwāja Mu'īn-u'd-dīn Chishtī who happened to be present in Dehlī, was bitterly incensed at this, and asked his disciple to leave Dehlī and accompany him to Ajmer. The news of Shaikh Quṭb-u'd-dīn's departure deeply afflicted the public of Dehlī. When the Khwāja and his disciple set out for Ajmer, the people of Dehlī went in their wake for miles. Iltutmish himself followed the two saints. Khwāja Mu'īn-u'd-dīn was deeply touched when he found the ruler and the ruled equally grieved. He allowed Shaikh Quṭb-u'd-dīn to remain in Dehlī. Iltutmish was immensely pleased; he kissed the feet of Khwāja Mu'īn-u'd-dīn and brought Shaikh Quṭb-u'd-dīn back to the Capital.[2]

Bābā Farīd continued to live with Khwāja Quṭb-u'd-dīn Bakhtiyār Kākī and under his inspired guidance traversed the difficult stages of the mystic path. The Khwāja assigned him a small cell in his Khānqah.[3] Young Farīd busied himself in devotions and prayers in that lonely corner. Shaikh Quṭb-u'd-dīn used to supervise his work with keen and sympathetic interest. While his other disciples visited him very frequently, Bābā Farīd saw his master only twice a month.[4]

Khwāja Mu'īn-u'd-dīn Chishtī happened to visit Dehlī again. When he saw[5] Bābā Farīd he remarked: "Bābā Bakhtiyār! You have caught a noble falcon which will not build his nest except on the holy tree of Heaven. Farīd is a lamp that will illuminate the *Silsilah* of the *durweshes*."[6] Khwāja Mu'īn-u'd-dīn then asked his disciple to bestow spiritual gifts and blessings on Bāba Farīd, but Shaikh

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[1] *Siyar-u'l-Auliyā*, p. 54.

[2] *Siyar-u'l-Auliyā*, pp. 54-55; *Jawami'-u'l-Kilim*, p. 208.

[3] The author of *Siyar-u'l-'Ārifīn* writes (p. 30):

"در نزدیک دروازۂ غربی برجیست در زیر آن برج حجرۂ ساختہ"

(There is a tower near the Western Gate. (He) constructed his *hujrah* under that tower.)

The author of *Jawama'-u'l-Kilam* quotes Sayyid Muhammad Gēsu Darāz who said that Bābā Farīd had busied himself in penitences (p. 230):

"در مسجد دهلی نزدیک دروازۂ مندہ"

(In Masjid-i-Dehlī, near the Mandah gate.)

[4] *Fawā'id-u'l-Fu'ād*, p. 187; *Siyar-u'l-Auliyā*, p. 61. Allah Diyah, however, says that he used to visit his Shaikh every week (*Siyar-u'l-Aqṭāb*, p. 164).

[5] The author of *Siyar-u'l-Aqṭāb* develops the event thus: "When Khwāja Mu'īn-u'd-dīn Hasan Sijzī visited Dehlī, Quṭb-u'l-Aqṭāb presented his disciples to him and everyone received his blessings according to his merit. Later Sulṭān-u'l-'Ārifīn asked: "Bābā Quṭb-u'd-dīn! Is there any other disciple of yours?" Shaikh Quṭb-u'd-dīn replied: "There is one Mas'ūd by name who is sitting in *Chillah*." Hadrat Sulṭān-u'l-'Ārifīn got up and said: 'Come along and let us see him.' Both the saints went to his cell and opened the door. Hadrat-i-Ganj-i-Shakar was so weak that he could not get up to pay his respects to the saints. Helplessly and with tears in his eyes he placed his head on the ground. When Sulṭān-u'l-'Ārifīn saw this he said: 'Quṭb-u'd-dīn! How long will you burn this poor fellow in the fire of penitence?'" (pp. 165-166). The last sentence only occurs in *Siyar-u'l-Auliyā*, (p. 72).

[6] *Siyar-u'l-'Ārifīn*, p. 23.

Qutb-u'd-din apologized that in the presence of his master he could not have the courage to bestow anything on him Thereupon both the saints blessed Bābā Farid It was a unique honour in the history of the Chighti Silsilah. No saint before him, or even after, was thus blessed by the master and the master of his master [1]

One day Bābā Farid submitted to his master "If the Shaikh permits me I will keep a *Chillah*"[2] "There is no need of it," replied Shaikh Qutb-u'd-din disapproving of the idea, "Such things lead to publicity Our saints have not done anything like this" "It is known to the Shaikh's intuitive mind," submitted Bābā Farid, "that fame is not my object"[3] Shaikh Qutb-u'd-din did not press his point further He advised his young disciple to perform *Chillah-i-Ma'kūs*[4] Bābā Farid did not know the real nature of that *Chillah*, while due to the awe (*mahābat*) in which he stood in relation to his master, he had not the courage to inquire from him He went to Shaikh Badr-u'd-din Ghaznawi[5] and asked him about it. Shaikh Ghaznawi was ignorant of it himself, so he asked the Shaikh who replied "*Chillah-i-Ma'kūs* means that a man should tie a rope round his feet

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[1] *Siyar-u'l-Auliyā* p 72 Amir Khurd thus pays tribute to Bābā Farid

بخشش کونین از شیخین شد در باب تو پادشاهی یافتی زین پادشاهان زمان
مملکت دنیا و دین گشته مسلم مر ترا عالم کن گشته اقطاع تو ای شاه جهان

(The two saints have bestowed the two worlds on thee,
Thou hast received kingship from these kings of the age,
The realms of this and the other world certainly belongs to thee,
The entire creation has been, in fact, assigned to thee)

These verses were composed by Amir Khurd at the time of compiling his *Siyar-u'l-Auliyā*, years after the death of Bābā Farid, but the author of *Siyar-u'l-Aqtāb* (p 166) wrongly says that they were recited extempore by a poet at the time when the two Shaikhs conferred their spiritual blessings on Bābā Farid Allah Diyah further states that later, in an assembly in which Qādi Hamid-u'd-din Nāgauri, Maulānā 'Ali Kirmāni, Sayyid Nūr-u'd din Mubārak Ghaznawi, Shaikh Nizām-u'd-din Abul Muwayyid, Maulānā Shams-u'd-din Turk and Maulānā Mahmud Mu ina Doz were present, Khwāja Ajmeri bestowed upon Bābā Farid his robe and Shaikh Qutb-u'd-din conferred his *dastār* (turban) and other articles of *Khilāfat* (p 166) The names of the persons have been borrowed from *Siyar-u'l-Auliyā* (p 61) but Amir Khurd does not say that Khwāja Ajmeri was present in this meeting He simply says that these persons were present when Bābā Farid was initiated into his discipline by Shaikh Qutb-u'd-din

[2] *Chillah* means segregation for forty days in order to purify one's inner self and brighten the spiritual sensibilities through continued devotions and fasts

[3] Bābā Farid regretted throughout his life his arrogant audacity in making a request which the Shaikh did not like *Fawā id-u'l-Fu'ād*, p 26

[4] See Chapter IV

[5] Shaikh Badr-u'd-din Ghaznawi was a distinguished disciple and Khalifah of Shaikh Qutb-u'd-din Bakhtiyār Kākī For years he lived at Dehli and enjoyed the company of his master He was a poet of eminence and the author of *Siyar-u'l-Auliyā* refers to his *Diwān*, which is extinct now He was an eloquent preacher also Qādi Minhāj-u's-Sirāj, author of the *Tabaqāt-i-Nāsiri* used to call him "*The White Falcon*" For his life, see *Fawā'id-u'l-Fu'ād*, pp 73-74, *Siyar-u'l-Auliyā*, pp 164-166, *Khair-u'l-Majālis*, pp 187-188, *Akhbār-u'l-Akhyār*, p 50, *Rawdā-i-Aqtāb*, pp 71-72, *Mir'āt-u'l-Asrār*, MS, *Gulzār-i-Abrār*, MS.

and suspending himself downwards in a well, worship God for forty days or forty nights."[1]

It is not clear from our medieval records as to how many times Shaikh Farīd visited Dehlī to see his master, and how long he stayed with him each time. It is, however, certain that he completed his spiritual training under him. One day a visitor asked Sayyid Muḥammad Gēsū Darāz[2] "How did Shaikh Quṭb-u'd-dīn train Shaikh Farīd-u'd-dīn?" The Sayyid replied that Shaikh Farīd had joined Shaikh Quṭb-u'd-dīn's discipline after acquiring complete spiritual ability (*isti'dād-i-tamām*) He needed little instruction and so he did not live with the Shaikh for a long time[3]

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[1] *Siyar-u'l-Auliyā*, pp 68-69 One day when Sayyid Muhammad Gēsū Darāz was telling his audience about this *Chillah* of Bābā Farīd, a man asked "How is it that blood does not run out of the eyes and mouth of the person who performs it and how food and other things do not come out of him?" The saint replied that there was no question of blood or food in the dried and emaciated body of a saint—reduced to mere skeleton by prayers and penitences *Jawāma'-u l-Kilam* p 231

[2] Sayyid Muhammad Gēsū Darāz (ob 825 A H /1421 A D) was a famous disciple and Khalīfah of Shaikh Naṣīr-u'd-dīn Chirāgh i-Dehlī He settled at Gulbargah (in Hyderabad-Deccan) and popagated the teachings of his *silsilah* He was a prolific writer and wrote more than two dozen books on different aspects of religion and mysticism His conversations have been recorded in the *Jawama'-u'l-Kilam* by Sayyid Muḥammad Husainī For biographical notices, see *Akhbār-u l-Akhyār* pp 129-134, *Mir'āt-u'l-Asrar* (MS), *Siyar-i-Muhammadī*, by Shāh Muhammad 'Alī Sāmānī, (Printed at Unāul Dawākhānah Press, Sabzī Mandī, Allahabad)

[3] *Jawāma'-u'l-Kilam*, p 230

CHAPTER IV

Prayers and Penitences

Ma'rifat (gnosis) being the *summum bonum* of a mystic's life, methods were explored through which *wasl* (union) could be achieved. The heart[1] was considered to be the only medium which could set the Finite in tune with the Infinite The entire mystic journey in all its stages had to be undertaken with the help of heart (طی سیرۂ قلبی), and it was through prayers and penitences that it could be made responsive to divine messages[2]

"All the Shaikhs of India", remarks Muhammad Ghauthi, "are unanimous in declaring that no saint has excelled Ganj-i-Shakar in his devotions and penitences[3]" In fact his life is one long story of prayers, vigils and fasts[4] These penitences not only purified his inner life but opened his soul to the indwelling power of God

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[1] For heart, as the centre of the cosmic emotions, see *Risālah-i-Matlūb-fi-'Ishq-i'l-Mahbūb*, written by Muhammad Amīr Māh during the reign of Firūz Shāh Tughlaq (752-790 A H /1351-88 A D) Also *Lawā'ih*, translated by Whinfield and Qazwini, pp 4-5 *Misbah-u'l Hidāyah wa-Miftāh-u'l-Kifāyah*, pp 97-101

[2] The value of these practices in spiritual ascension has been very well discussed by Shāh Wali-u l-lah of Dehli in his *Hujjat-u llah-il-Bāligháh*, *Tafhimāt-i-Ilahiah* and *Qaul-u l-Jamil* See also *Khair-u'l-Majālis*, (p 150) where Shaikh Nasir-u'd-din Chirāgh i-Delhi remarks "*Mujāhidah* (self-mortification) first, *mushāhidah* (Vision of Reality) afterwards'

[3] *Gulzār-i-Abrār*, MS, *Iqtibās-u'l-Anwār* (MS) f 166 a

[4] 'Ali Asghar gives the following account of his penitences Bābā Farid went into the jungle and lived there for ten years subsisting mainly on leaves of trees When he returned home his mother asked him about his achievements during the period Bābā Farid said that he had not taken anything except the leaves of trees Then his mother began to comb his hair affectionately with her fingers Bābā Farid's head which had not been cleaned and combed for years, began to ache "Farid ! You have wasted your time and have achieved nothing " cried out his mother when she found him sensitive to pain Bābā Farid again left his home and wandered in jungles for years He tied a round piece of wood to his empty belly When anyone asked him about his food he would reply that he had taken it When he returned to his mother and told her all this she said "You have spoken lies all through You have therefore wasted this period also " (*Jawāhar-i-Faridi*, MS)

This account is full of exaggerations Had he roamed about for twenty or thirty years in jungles, our earlier authorities would not have failed to note this fact In later *tadhkirahs*, particularly the *Jawāhar-i-Faridi*, hyperbolic and exaggerated statements appear frequently • He is stated to have lived for 120 years His *Chillah-i-Ma'kūs* which lasted for forty days has been stated to have lasted ten years

'Ali Asghar had seen the *qurs-i-Chubin* in 1036 A H /1626 A D in the Dargāh of Bābā Farid Probably he is the first writer to refer to them

When Captain Wade visited Pāk-Pattan in 1832 he was shown several relics, "among which the most curious was a round flat piece of wood of the size and shape of an Indian bread or *Chapati* In the long fasts which the saint imposed on himself, he is said to have solaced his hunger by gnawing this hard substances " (*J A S B*, 1837, p 192) These *qurs-i-chubin* have been carefully preserved and may be seen even today

Bābā Farīd as we have seen, was drawn to a life of prayers and fasts by his mother. He was very fond of sugar and every time that he offered his obligatory prayers, his mother gave him some sugar. Later, when Bābā Farīd's interest in prayers developed and he subjected himself to severe spiritual exercises, his mother proved to be a very hard task master.

When Shaikh Quṭb-u'd-dīn Bakhtiyār Kākī ordered Shaikh Farīd to perform the *Chillah-i-Ma'kūs*[1] (The Inverted *Chillah*), he began to search a lonely place with a mosque and a well near it. Fame was something which he despised and hated, and it was very difficult to find a place where all his devotions would remain unnoticed by the people His search for such a place in Dehlī proving vain, he turned towards Hānsī. There too he could not find a lonely corner with the necessary atmosphere to perform the *Chillah*. He wandered from town to town and from village to village in search for a proper place for his *Chillah* At last he reached Uchch Here he found a mosque—Masjid-i-Hajj[2]—in a calm and quite part of the town, with a well over which spread the branches of trees, and a good *mu'adhdhin*,[3] Khwāja Rashīd-u'd-dīn Minā'i, who was a native of Hānsī and had great faith in Bābā Farīd In order to satisfy himself fully whether the *mu'adhdhin*

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[1] It has been stated in *Fawā'id-u'l-Fu'ād* that Shaikh Abū Sa'id Abu'l Khair used to say that whatever he heard about the Prophet's manner of offering prayers he himself did that He came to know that the Prophet had offered *Namāz-i-Ma'kūs*, and he hastened to do the same (p 7) In *Asrār-u't-Tauhīd-fī-Maqāmāt-i-Shaikh Abi Sa'id*, by Muhammad bin Munawwar, a grandson of Shaikh Abi Sa'id (Tehrān Edition, 1313 A H) we find references to *Salāt-i-Ma'kūs* being offered by the Shaikh, but I have not been able to find any reference to *Namāz-i-Ma'kūs* in standard collections of Ahādith The author of *Ma'arij-u'l-Walāyat* says that a visitor had questioned Shaikh Naṣir-u'd-dīn Chirāgh-i-Dehlī about the legality of the *Namāz-i-Ma'kūs* and the latter had replied

در کتب علم ظاهر ندیدم

(I have not found it in books of *'ilm-i-zāhir* (Shari'at) In *Jawāma'-u'l-Kilam* the same question is attributed to a visitor of Sayyid Muhammad Gēsu Darāz (p 231)

The only other Chishtī saint who is reported to have performed *Namāz-i-Ma'kūs* is Khwāja Abu Muhammad Chishtī (*Siyar u'l Auliya* p 40)

Shāh Walī-u llah writes

'الچشتية صلوة تسمى صلوة المعكوس لم نجد من السنة ولا اقوال الفقهاء ما يشدها فلذلك حذفنا ها والعلم عند الله' *Qaul-u'l-Jamīl*, p 53

(And there is a *namāz* among the Chishtīs, known as *Salāt-i-Ma'kūs* We could not find any authority for it in the Traditions of the Prophet or in the sayings of the jurists We therefore did not discuss it here Its legality or otherwise is known to God alone)

The manner of performing the *Salāt-i-Ma'kūs* has been described in detail by the author of *Ma'arij-u'l-Walāyat* Among the Hindus there is a class of Sadhus known as *Urdhamukhi* about whom it is said that they hang their heads downwards suspended from the bough of a tree or a suitable framework and pray J C Oman *The Mystics, Ascetics And Saints of India*, p 46

[2] Amīr Khurd who compiled his book in 1358 A D informs us that this mosque was intact till his time and people used to pray in that mosque *Siyar-u'l-Auliyā*, p 70

[3] One who assembles the people to prayers by proclamation from minaret or tower of a mosque

could be entrusted with a secret, Bābā Farīd stayed there for three days and watched the ways of Khwāja Mīnā'ī Then, one day after 'Ishā prayers, he asked the *mu'adhdhin* to bring him a rope. One end of the rope was tied to his feet and the other to a branch of the tree over the well The *mu'adhdhin* then lowered him into the well The Shaikh requested the *mu'adhdhin* to come before dawn and pull the rope up. The Shaikh prayed in that position throughout the night. In the early hours of the morning the *mu'adhdhin* pulled up the rope and the Shaikh continued his prayers on the floor In this way the Shaikh performed his *Chillah* for forty nights [1]

Later writers have used this *Chillah* as a basis for weaving fantastic stories round the Shaikh and about his penitences 'Alī Asghar gives a romantic touch to the whole episode when he says that birds had built their nests on the body of Shaikh Farīd [2] This is good fiction but not sober history The picture which emerges from works like *Jawāhar-i-Farīdī* and the fabricated *Malfuzāt* is certainly not the picture of Shaikh-u'l-Islām Farīd-u'l-Haqq-Wad-dīn as described by Shaikh Nizām-u'd-dīn Auliyā The ascetic elements which dominate all these accounts do not give us the true personality of the great saint At no place in the contemporary works do we find the saint overpowered by that spiritual intoxication (*sukr*) in which one loses control of himself, the Bābā Farīd of *Rāhat-u'l Qulūb* and *Fawā'id-u's-Sālakīn* is incompatible of the Shaikh Farīd of real history

The inspiring motive of Bābā Farīd's devotions and penitences was neither the hope of Heaven nor the fear of Hell It sprang out of his intense love for his Lord His heart was 'Love's feverous citadel' and he prayed and fasted day and night because he wanted to break all obstructions which stood between him and his Beloved Whether in Kathwāl, Hānsī, Dehlī, Uchch or Ajodhan he was always absorbed in his prayers

Early during his contact with Khwāja Qutb-u'd-dīn Bakhtiyār Kākī he was advised to follow the mystic principle of *Tayy*[3] and to break the fast only when something from an unforseen source was bestowed on him Bābā Farīd fasted for three days continuously and

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[1] *Siyar-u'l-Auliyā*, p 70

It appears from *Jawāma-u'l Kilam* (p 231) that the Shaikh continued this *Chillah* in the day also and came out only to offer his obligatory prayers There is nothing in our contemporary records to support this Amīr Khurd definitely says

"برین جمله چهل شب چله معکوس داشت"

"in this way he kept *Chillah-i Ma kūs* for forty nights '

The author of *Jawāhar-i-Farīdī* extends the period of this *Chillah* to ten years In a *Malfūz* of Shaikh Hussām-u'd-dīn Manikpurī the period is stretched to 6 months (See, *Ma arij-u'l-Walāyat*, MS)

[2] "کنجشکان در زانوهای مبارک ایشان جا ساختند" *Jawāhar-i-Farīdī*, (MS)

[3] Literally *Tayy* (v n of طوی) means 'fasting voluntarily' In mystic parlance it means fasting for three days in such a way that nothing is taken at the *iftār* time except three or four drops of water (*Ghiyāth-u'l-Lughāt*, p 277).

got nothing with which he could break his fast. On the third day a man brought some bread to him. The Shaikh broke his fast. Soon afterwards he saw a kite with intestines of some animal in her beak. This sight was so repulsive for him that he vommitted whatever he had taken. When he reported the matter to his Shaikh, he said "Farid you have broken your fast with the bread brought by a drunkard. By God's grace that meal did not stay in your stomach. Go and observe your fast for three days again. Break your fast with whatever comes from the *Ghaib* (the unknown)." Bābā Farid again fasted for three days. Weakness overpowered him and his empty stomach began to burn. He picked up a few pebbles and put them in his mouth. These pebbles turned into sugar.[1] The Shaikh thought it to be the trick of the devil. He threw away the pebbles and again busied himself in devotions. At midnight he was again tortured by the cravings of an empty stomach. He again picked up the pebbles and put them in his mouth. Again they turned into sugar. He again thought it to be the devil's trick and threw them away. In the small hours of the morning he thought that if he did not eat anything, he would not be able even to perform his morning prayers. He picked up the pebbles and swallowed them once more. Next morning he narrated the whole story to his master who remarked, "You did the right thing in breaking your fast with them. Whatever comes from the *Ghaib* is good. Go. You will be sweet like sugar[2]." Amir Khurd says that this was the reason for calling him *Pir-i-Shakarbār*, or *Ganj-i-Shakar*.

"Fasting", says Imām Ghazzālī "is one-half of self-control and self-control is one-half of faith[3]." Bābā Farid considered frequent fasting almost indispensable for spiritual progress. Shaikh Nizām-u'd-din Auliyā informs us that the saint seldom missed his fasts[4] and these fasts were kept in this way that the Shaikh did not take anything at *sahr*.[5]

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[1] *Siyar-u'l-Auliyā*, p 67
Amir Khurd quotes a verse from Sanā'i

سنگ در دست تو گوهر گردد
زهر در کام تو شکر گردد

(Stone turns into a pearl in thy hand poison becomes sugar in thy mouth)

[2] *Siyar-u'l-Auliyā*, p 67-68, *Jawāhar-i-Faridi* (MS), *Siyar-u'l-Aqtāb*, p 154-165 *Ma'arij-u'l-Walāyat*, (MS)

[3] *Kimiyā-i Sa'ādat*, (Lucknow 1907 A D), Shaikh Nizām-u'd-din Auliyā quotes this remark of Imām Ghazzālī from his *Ihyā-u'l 'Ulūm Fawā'id-u'l-Fu'ād*, f 75

[4] *Siyar-u'l-Auliyā*, p 401 In his earlier years the Shaikh used to keep *Rozah-i-Da'ūdī* (*Rozah-i-Da'ūdī* means keeping fasts on alternate days. It is easier to keep continuous fasts because in that case the system gets accustomed to it and fasting becomes a matter of routine but fasting on alternate day is extremely exacting and painful. See *Fawā'id-u'l-Fu'ād*, p 21) One day a guest from Meerut, Shaikh 'Ali, came to Hānsi to see Bābā Farid. Bābā Farid took his meal with the visitor who thought 'It would have been excellent had the Shaikh been a constant faster. The Shaikh's intuitive mind divined what was passing into his mind and holding back his hand from the food said "I shall keep constant fasts from now." *Siyar-u'l-Auliyā*, p 64

[5] *Siyar-u'l-Auliyā*, p 386

Several times in his life Bābā Farīd thought of going on the Hajj pilgrimage Once he even went up to Uchch, but returned home when suddenly it came to his mind that his master Khwāja Quṭb-u'd-dīn Bakhtiyār had not performed the Hajj pilgrimage and that it would not be proper for him to depart from his tradition [1]

Bābā Farīd's life at Ajodhan was a chequered one There were times when enormous *futūḥ* (unasked for charity) came to his Khānqah There were occasions when the entire household had to starve Sometimes the youngsters of the house reached the point of death owing to continuous starvation The Shaikh's attendants and disciples stood by him and bore all the hardships with a cheerful heart They would go to the jungles pick up *pelu* and *delah*[2] and prepare meals for themselves and their master. Neither affluence nor scarcity had any effect on the kind of life that the Shaikh had adopted Whatever his external condition, he devoted himself with singleness of purpose to Him and Him alone His love stricken heart cried out

I Love Thee I love Thee
'T is all that I can say,
It is my vision in the night,
My dreaming in the day
The very echo of my heart,
The blessing when I pray,
I love Thee I love Thee
Is all that I can say

To see the Shaikh saying his prayers was a thrilling spiritual experience When alone in his room he would lay his head on the ground for hours and recite[3]

از بهر تو میرم و برای تو زیم

(I die for Thee and live for Thee)

in a manner that would move the soul of the listener He used to advise his disciples to read this couplet in their *munājāt* (Prayers to God):

از حضرت تو سه چیز میخواهم
وقت خوش و آب دیده و راحت دل

(Oh Lord ! I want three things from Thee,
Happy time, tears and repose of heart).

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[1] *Siyar-u'l-Auliyā*, p 407
[2] Wild fruits of thorny plants found in the Punjāb and used as food
[3] *Fawā'id-u'l-Fu'ād* p 302, *Khair-u'l Majālis*, p 224
[4] *Siyar-u'l-Auliyā*, p 423-24

CHAPTER V

Itineracy

Travelling was an essential part of mystic discipline in the middle ages It had a number of advantages Firstly, it brought the mystics in touch with men of different temperaments, living under different climes and under different conditions The mystic gained intimate knowledge of human nature, a knowledge which helped him a lot in dealing with men when he settled down at one place with the determination to guide the faltering steps of his fellow human beings Secondly, when a mystic abandoned his home and started on his travels all those ties that bind man to a particular region and thereby narrow down his sympathies and his vision were automatically broken Maulānā 'Izz-u'd-dīn Maḥmūd bin 'Alī Kāshānī has discussed in detail the benefits accruing out of mystic travels [1] The great Chishtī saints—Shaikh 'Uthmān Harvanī, Shaikh Mu'īn-u'd-dīn Chishtī and Shaikh Quṭb-u'd-dīn—had travelled extensively for years. The apocryphal *Malfūẓ* literature ascribes to Bābā Farīd extensive tours of Muslim 'Ajam He is reported to have visited Baghdād, Bukhāra, Siwistan, Badakhshān, Kirmān, Qandhār and Ghaznīn,[2] and met Shaikh Shihāb-u'd-dīn Suhrawardī, Khwāja Ajal Shīrāzī, Shaikh Saif-u'd-dīn Bākharzī, Shaikh Auhad-u'd-dīn Kirmānī and others So far as India is concerned, he is taken to Kashmir, Mālwah, Ajmer etc.

The problem of Bābā Farīd's travels deserves careful study in the light of the following facts —

1 Our earliest authorities- *Fawā'id-u'l-Fu'ād, Khair-u'l-Majālis* and *Siyar-u'l Auliya*—do not say a single word about the Shaikh's peregrinations in lands abroad It Bābā Farīd travelled so extensively as the fabricated *Malfūẓ* literature would have us believe, why did Amīr Hasan and Amīr Khurd not mention the fact? Later writers, like Jamālī, 'Alī Asghar, Allah Diyah and others mention the saint's travels in other lands Their only source of information is, of course, the apocryphal literature of the period and the legends and stories which have been handed down to them

2 The time when Bābā Farīd is supposed to have undertaken his travels in foreign lands was a period of terrible turmoil The Mongol

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[1] See *Misbāh-u'l-Hidāyah-wa-Miftāh-u'l-Kifāyah*, edited by Jalāl-u d-dīn Humā'ī pp 203-269

[2] *Rāḥat-u l-Qulūb*, (MS) *Rāḥat-u l-Muḥibbīn* (MS), *Asrār-u'l-Auliyā* (MS) Following these works, Abū'l Fadl (*Ā'īn-i-Akbarī*), Jamālī (*Siyar-u'l-'Ārifīn* p 48) and Ghauthī (*Gulzār-i-Abrār* MS) have referred to Bābā Farīd's travels in foreign lands

irruption had destroyed flourishing Muslim towns and "the cultural centres of eastern Islām were practically wiped out of existence leaving bare deserts or shapeless ruins where formerly stately palaces and libraries had lifted their heads[1]" Even in the days when Ibn-i-Baṭṭuṭah visited Bukhāra, Samarqand, Balkh and other Transoxianan cities, he found them still largely in ruins. Under such conditions there was no question of trade travels, pleasure trips or mystic itineracies. An endless stream of refugees was pouring into India from those lands.[2]

3 Bābā Farīd's spiritual teacher being in India, it was hardly necessary for him to roam about in distant lands with unsettled conditions.

In view of these facts it seems highly improbable that Bābā Farīd undertook any journey to foreign lands. The only exception that can be made is, of course, his journey to Qandhār to complete his education there in the last decade of the twelfth century.

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[1] *History of the Arabs*, P K Hitti, p 482-83

[2] It was at this time that a very famous disciple of Khwāja Quṭb-u'd-dīn Bakhtiyār Kākī, Shaikh Badr-u'd-dīn Ghaznawī, left his home and came to India When in Lahore he was undecided whether he should proceed to Dehlī or return to Ghaznīn where his parents and relations lived He consulted the *Qur'ān* and was directed to proceed to Dehlī Soon afterwards news arrived that the Mongols had conquered Ghaznīn and put all his relations to death *Fawā'id-u'l-Fu'ād*, p 73, *Siyar-u l-Auliyā*, p 165

CHAPTER VI

In Hansi

Hānsī is an ancient town in the Hisār district[1] Sulṭān Mas'ūd of Ghaznīn occupied it in 1036,[2] but the Chauhans recovered it later[3] After the Battle of Tarain, Hānsī was occupied and garrisoned by Shihāb-u'd-dīn of Ghur[4] In 1192, a Hindu chief, Jatwan, besieged the Muslim garrison at Hānsī and Aibek had to march in person in order to relieve it From that time onwards it continued to be a place of great strategic importance Bābā Farīd settled there after he had completed his course of mystic discipline at the feet of Khwāja Quṭb-u'd-dīn Bakhtiyār Kākī Hānsī was a cantonment and Bābā Farīd thought that he would pass his days there undisturbed by large civilian crowds, but an interesting event brought him into the limelight[5]

Maulānā Nūr Turk,[6] an eminent mystic and an excellent speaker, reached Hānsī Bābā Farīd went to hear his sermon Bābā Farīd's

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[1] *Imperial Gazetteer of India*, (1) p 234

[2] *Tārīkh-i-Āl-i-Sabuktigīn* p 664

[3] An inscription of the Chauhan prince Prithavi Raj I records his conquest of Asi (Hansī) and its conversion into a fortified outpost against the Muslims in V S 1224 1167 A D See *Indian Antiquary* XLI p 17-18

[4] *Tabaqāt-i-Nasirī*, p 120

[5] *Siyar-u'l-Auliyā* p 62

[6] Maulānā Nūr Turk was a man of intensely religious temperament Though he was not the disciple of any saint, yet he led the life of the mystics, passing his days in poverty His only means of livelihood was a *dāng* per day which his freed slave gave to him (*Akhbār-u'l Akhyār* p 74) Sultan Radiyah once sent some gold to him but he refused to accept it (*Akhbār-u'l-Akhyār*, p 74) Nūr Turk did not like the worldliness and the materialistic outlook of the *ulamā* of the day He often condemned them for their greed of gold and glory Men like Minhāj could hardly tolerate such criticism They retaliated by presenting him to posterity in lurid colours Minhāj says that he was the leader of the Mulāhidah (*Tabaqāt-i-Nasirī* p 189-90) During the reign of Radiyah he collected together his devotees from the neighbourhood of Dehli, Gujrat Sind and the Doab They began to condemn the Hanafi and Shāfi'ī doctrines and called the Sunnī *'ulamā* Nasibī and Murji On Rajab 6, 634/1237 one thousand armed Mulāhidah entered the Jāma'Masjid from two directions and killed a number of the Mussalmans When confusion spread, some persons from the city—Nasir u'd-dīn Balramī and Imām Nāsir—came armed with weapons They fought with the Mulāhidah while the Mussalmans threw stones from the mosque (*Tabaqāt i-Nasirī* p 189-90)

This is Minhāj's account of the rising I am inclined to believe that Maulānā Nūr Turk had nothing to do with the rising Minhāj has attributed to him the raising of this trouble for which, probably, he was not at all responsible My contention that he was not one of the Mulāhidah is based on the following considerations (i) Shaikh Nizām-u'd-dīn Auliyā says about him that he was purer than the rain water (از آب آسمان پاکیزه‌تر بود) See *Fawā'id-u'l-Fu'ād*, p 199 (ii) A Mulāhidah scholar would not have been reverentially mentioned by scholars like Amīr Khurd and Shaikh 'Abd-u'l-Haqq Muhaddith of Dehli as 'Maulānā Nūr Turk" (iii) Shaikh 'Abd-u'l-Haqq could not have included him in his *tadhkirah* had he been one of the Mulāhidah (iv) Radiyah would never have thought of sending money to a Mulāhidah, for it was the declared policy of all the Sunnī rulers owing allegiance to the 'Abbasid Caliphate to take stern measures against the heretics (v) Had he been a Mulāhidah Bāba Farīd would not have gone to attend his sermon There is not a single instance in the medieval literature of Sunnī mystics associating with the Mulāhidah scholars (vi) On leaving India, Nūr Turk went to Mecca and lived there No Mulāhidah scholar would have been permitted to live like that in the sacred city of Mecca

clothes were in shreds and there was nothing in his outward appearance to suggest that he was a deeply religious man. Besides, he was not personally known to the eminent visitor. But, as soon as he stepped into the mosque, Maulānā Nūr Turk exclaimed "O Mussalmans! the appraiser of true speech (*Sarrāf-i-Sukhan*) has arrived." All anxious eyes turned towards Bābā Farīd Nūr Turk then showered lavish encomiums on him. "He praised me", Bābā Farīd informed his disciples in his old age, "in words he had not cared to bestow on any king[1]."

Nūr Turk's speech made Bābā Farīd famous in Hānsī and visitors began to throng round him in large numbers It was during his stay at Hānsī that Shaikh Jamāl-u'd-dīn joined his discipline[2] He was a favourite disciple of the Shaikh and it was out of love for him that the Shaikh stayed in Hānsī for twelve years[3] It is difficult, however, to determine with precision the duration of Bābā Farīd's stay in Hānsī. Probably he stayed there for nineteen or twenty years and left it some years after the death of Khwāja Qutb-u'd-dīn Bakhtiyār Kākī.

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[1] *Fawā id-u'l-Fu'ād*, p 199-200

[2] Jamālī says that soon after the Shaikh's return from Dehlī, Jamāl-u'd-dīn received *Khirqah* from his master (p 33)

[3] *Siyar-u'l-Auliyā*, p 178

CHAPTER VII

At the Head of the Chishti Silsilah

"Maulānā Farīd-u'd-dīn !", Khwāja Quṭb-u'd-dīn addressed his disciple with tears in his eyes when the latter sought his permission to leave Dehlī for Hānsī "I know that you will go to Hānsī" "I will do as the Shaikh orders me to do," submitted Bābā Farīd. "Go", continued Shaikh Quṭb-u'd-dīn Bakhtiyār Kākī, "it has been pre-ordained that you will not be present at the time of my death[1]." The saint then asked those who were assembled there to recite the *fātiḥah* for the spiritual elevation of Bābā Farīd and bestowed upon him his special prayer carpet and staff While bidding him farewell Shaikh Quṭb-u'd-dīn said that he would leave his *khirqah*, *dastār* and wooden sandals[2] with Qāḍī Ḥamīd-u'd-dīn Nāgaurī and that he would receive them from him on the fifth day of his death. Then, with these words on his lips "My place is yours," the great Chishtī saint of Dehlī parted for ever with his eminent disciple from the Punjāb

Khwāja Bakhtiyār's words decided the problem of his successor. Shaikh Badr-u'd-dīn Ghaznawī and a few other disciples of the Shaikh who were anxious for this honour were gravely disappointed But no appeals or protests against the Shaikh's decision were possible His word was law

The night on which Shaikh Quṭb-u'd-dīn Bakhtiyār Kākī was to depart for the world beyond Bābā Farīd dreamt that his master was calling him to his presence At dawn he left for Dehlī The messenger who was sent from Dehlī to convey the sad news to Bābā Farīd met him in the way Bābā Farīd hastened to the capital and reached there on the fourth day Qāḍī Ḥamīd-u'd-dīn Nāgaurī handed over the mystic regalia to him Bābā Farīd offered two *rak'ats* (genuflexions) of prayer, put the *khirqah* on his head and then proceeded to the house of his deceased master and sat in his place[3] Shaikh Quṭb-u'd-dīn

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[1] *Siyar-u'l-Auliyā*, p 73

[2] It may be noted here that the *Khirqah* (patched frock), *dastār* (turban) *'aṣā*, (rod), and the *na'lain-i-chubīn* (wooden sandals) constituted, what may be called the mystic regalia It was entrusted by the dying saint to the best amongst his disciples, a disciple whom he thought fit to bear the burden of leading the organization

These articles were later delivered by Bābā Farīd to Shaikh Niẓām-u'd-dīn Auliyā who, in his turn, gave them to Shaikh Naṣīr-u'd-dīn Chirāgh of Dehlī Shaikh Naṣīr u'd-dīn did not consider any of his disciples fit to shoulder the burden of the organization He did not therefore, give them to any one, but, on the other hand, advised his disciples to bury them with him in his grave *Khair-u'l-Majālis*, p -87

[3] *Fawā'id-u'l-Fu'ād*, p 187-88 *Siyar-u'l Auliyā*, p 72-73

had also wished him to marry his widow, but Bābā Farīd expressed his inability to do that.[1]

Bābā Farīd's stay at the capital as the head of the Chishtī *Silsilah* was full of interesting experiences So long he had passed his life in a far off town of the Punjāb, away from the hurry and bustle of the capital Dehlī was a different world It was difficult to find here that placid tranquillity that one found in Hānsī. Every day Bābā Farīd was invited to feasts and much of his time was wasted in futile and aimless engagements He got fed up with this life[2] Every day he thought of leaving Dehlī but was still undecided when the following incident made him quit Dehlī

A man, Sarhangā[3] by name, came to Dehlī from Hānsī Every day he sought an interview with Bābā Farīd but the *darban* did not allow him to get in One day, when the Shaikh came out,[4] Sarhangā, who was waiting for his opportunity, fell at his feet and began to weep "Access to you was easy when you were in Hānsī, but it is very difficult here," cried Sarhangā Bābā Farīd was deeply touched and he immediately decided to leave for Hānsī His friends and disciples in Dehlī were surprised at this sudden decision to leave the capital. "Shaikh Quṭb-u'd-dīn," they said, "had assigned and entrusted this place to you Why do you go elsewhere?" "My master's blessing," replied Bābā Farīd, "will accompany me whether I am in the city or in the wilderness[5]"

The Sarhangā episode might have been the immediate cause for quitting Dehlī, but there were other considerations also which determined his action He did not like to enter into an unseemly competition or rivalry with his friend, Shaikh Badr-u'd-dīn Ghaznawī, who had all along been in Dehlī and had also worked with his deceased master It, therefore, seemed proper to him to leave Dehlī entirely in his hands and avoid a conflict The Shaikh's decision to leave Dehlī proved a blessing for the larger interests of the Chishtī *Silsilah* Subsequent developments in Dehlī fully justified the wisdom of his action in settling at a place far off from the capital

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[1] *Khair-u'l-Majālis*, p 89

[2] *Siyar-u'l-'Arifīn*, p 33

[3] *Fawā'id-u'l Fu ād*, p 188 *Siyar-u'l-Auliyā*, p 73

Neither Amīr Hasan nor Amīr Khurd have given any details about Sarhangā Jamālī and Ghulām Mu'īn u'd-dīn however say that he was a *majdhūb* His name appears to be that of a Non-Muslim or a new convert to Islam

Sarhangā was an official attached to the camp (*Raverty* p 103) or the revenue ministry (*Barani*, p 288) He may have been afterwards known by the same title This name was common amongst the Ghakkars later

[4] Jamālī says that the Shaikh had come out to offer his Friday prayers. *Siyar-u'l-'Arifīn*, p 33

[5] *Siyar-u'l-Auliyā*, p 73 *Fawā'id-u'l-Fu ād*, p 188

A few months after the death of Shaikh Qutb-u'd-dīn Bakhtiyār Kākī, Iltutmish also died. Political intrigues amongst the Turkish nobles which followed his death weakened the royal authority and poisoned the springs of social life. Every Turkish noble had in his service a number of theologians to whip up public opinion in his favour. Under such conditions the fortunes of a scholar or a saint associated with a noble waxed and waned with the fortunes of that noble.

In an atmosphere so surcharged with intrigue, it was not possible for a saint to keep out of politics. Shaikh Badr-u'd-dīn Ghaznawī attached himself to Malik Nizām-u'd-dīn Khariṭahdār (the treasurer). The Malik constructed a Khānqah for the Shaikh and offered to bear all his expenses. The Shaikh's acceptance of this offer was against the traditions of the Chishtī *Silsilāh* but in the atmosphere of intrigue which had developed at Dehlī, there seemed nothing surprising in it.[1] However, it was not possible for the Shaikh to escape from the consequences. The Malik got involved in an embezzlement case and with his ruin came the ruin of Shaikh Badr-u'd-dīn Ghaznawī. Much worried and perplexed he wrote to Bābā Farīd: "One of the servants of the *dīwān* had built a Khānqah for me and had arranged for the boarding and the lodging of the *durweshes*. Now a charge of embezzlement has been brought against him. I am much worried and disturbed. Kindly pray for his release and the welfare of the *durweshes*." "He who does not follow the principle of his master," wrote Bābā Farīd in reply, "is confronted with such troubles and worries that his heart gets no peace. Who, among our masters did ever construct a Khānqah for himself and reside there as you have done? It was not the practice of Shaikh Qutb-u'd-dīn and his master Khwāja Mu'īn-u'd-dīn to construct a Khānqah and set up a shop. Wherever they went or sojourned, they tried to conceal themselves from the people.[2]"

Bābā Farīd's indictment of the attitude of Shaikh Badr-u'd-dīn was perfectly justified and probably it was his determination to keep out of politics which made him leave Dehlī.

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[1] Bābā Farīd's younger brother Shaikh Najīb-u'd-dīn Mutawakkil though a real *mutawakkil* (resigned to the will of God) accepted in Dehlī the *Imāmat* of a mosque constructed and maintained by a Turk who allotted to him a house also. But Shaikh Najīb was a man of conviction. The noble spent more than a *lac jitals* on the marriage of his daughter. The Shaikh objected to this lavish expenditure and was dismissed. *Fawā'id-u'l-Fu'ād*, p 79; *Siyar-u'l-Auliyā*, p 78.

[2] *Fawā'id-u'l-Fu'ād*, p 79. See also *Khair-u'l-Majālis*, p 188.

CHAPTER VIII

In Ajodhan

Though his pīr Khwāja Quṭb-u'd-dīn Bakhtiyār Kākī had appointed him as his successor, the period of Bābā Farīd's spiritual self-training was not yet over. He was constantly in search of a place where he could carry on his devotions undisturbed by visitors. When Maulānā Nūr Turk's praise made him famous in Hānsī, he moved to Kahtwāl. As the stream of visitors increased in Kahtwāl, he shifted to Ajodhan, where he lived till the last moment of his life.[1]

Ajodhan—modern Pākpattan[2]—was an ancient town which probably derived its name from the Yaudheya tribe (the modern Johiyas).[3] It was a place of great importance as the principal ferry across the Sutlej and the meeting place of the great western roads from Dera Ghazi Khan to Dera Ismail Khan. But it appears that the spot selected by the Shaikh for his stay was inhabited by backward Hindu tribes.[4] There were *chuls* (deserts) all round. Snakes and wild animals were to be found everywhere. The Shaikh himself was bitten by a snake,[5] while his mother was devoured by a wild animal in the vicinity of Ajodhan. The inhabitants of this place professed degrading beliefs.[6] They were illiterate, bad-tempered[7] and superstitious.[8] No place could be more suitable for a saint wishing to pass his years of self-discipline in a lonely corner. He spread his carpet under a cluster of trees outside the town.[9] For some time there was none to disturb him. But very soon the period of self-discipline came to an end and *'uzlat* (isolation) was changed into *ṣuhbat* (company). He threw open the gates of his house to every one who wished to see him. "Come to me one by one," he told his visitors, "so that I may attend to you individually."[10]

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[1] Amīr Khurd says that according to one tradition the Shaikh lived in Ajodhan for 16 years and according to another report for 24 years till his death (*Siyar-u'l-Auliyā*, p 63)

[2] 'The modern name of Pākpattan ('Ferry of the Pure') is derived from the saint Farīd-u'd dīn, one of the most famous devotees of Northern India, who was instrumental in the conversion of the whole Southern Punjab to the faith of Islām.' W W Hunter *The Imperial Gazetteer of India*, Vol X 1886 Second edition p 532 See also Cunningham *Ancient Geography of India*, p 250-51

[3] *The Imperial Gazetteer of India* (New Edition 1908), Vol XIX, p 332-333

[4] *Siyar-u'l-Aqṭāb*, p 163

[5] *Siyar-u'l Auliyā*, p 80-81

[6] *Siyar-u'l-Aqṭāb*, p 168

[7] *Khair-u'l-Majālis*, p 188 *Siyar-u'l-'Ārifīn*, p 33 *Akhbār-u'l-Akhyār*, p 51 *Gulzār-i-Abrār*, MS

[8] *Siyar-u'l-Aqṭāb*, p 168 In some *tadhkirahs* it is stated that they had no faith in saints, implying of course, Muslim saints

[9] *Khair-u'l-Majālis*, p 89 *Siyar-u'l-'Ārifīn*, p 33

[10] *Fawā'id-u'l-Fu'ād*, p 68 *Siyar-u'l-'Ārifīn*, p 34

One of the first things that Bābā Farīd did on settling at Ajodhan was to send his younger brother, Shaikh Najīb-u'd-dīn Mutawakkil, to bring his mother from Kahtwāl. Shaikh Najīb-u'd-dīn went to Kahtwāl, mounted his aged mother on his horse and started towards Ajodhan. While crossing a *chul*, Shaikh Najīb-u'd-dīn felt thirsty. He requested his mother to sit under the shade of a tree and went on horse in search of water. When he came back he did not find his mother. He made frantic search for her in every direction but to no avail. With a heavy heart he returned to his elder brother. Bābā Farīd ordered the funeral rites of his mother to be performed.

It is said that after some time Shaikh Najīb-u'd-dīn happened to pass through the same *chul*. The tragic way in which his mother had disappeared had racked his heart. He cast his gloomy eyes in every direction appealing to the place to disclose the mystery of the disappearance of his mother. All of a sudden he came across some bones. "These are the bones of my mother," he told himself and collected them in a bag and took them to his brother. Bābā Farīd asked him to put the bones on his prayer carpet, but, when the bag was opened, there was nothing in it.[1]

Bābā Farīd's fame now began to spread far and wide. It crossed the borders of India and attracted people from distant lands. But his life at Ajodhan was a hard one. He had to bear a number of troubles at the hands of his fellow citizens and the local officers. His fame and popularity was gall and wormwood to the *'ulāmā-i-zāhiri*. The Qādī of Ajodhan became jealous of him and at his instigation the jāgīrdārs and other government and semi-government officers began to harass his family. True to the traditions of his elder saints he bore all these troubles with remarkable patience. It was not his principle to enter into disputes or controversies with any human being. When the Shaikh's forbearance foiled the Qādī's attempts at provocation, he approached the scholars of Multān for a legal verdict (*fatwah*) against the Shaikh. "An educated man lives in a mosque, hears songs and dances. What is your opinion about him?" The *'Ulāmā* refrained from expressing any opinion on the basis of that meagre data. "Let us know first of all who the person is about whom you want this *fatwah*," they asked the Qādī. When they heard the name of Bābā Farīd they replied: "You have referred to a saint against whom no *mujtahid* can dare raise his finger."[2] The Qādī returned to Ajodhan disappointed and snubbed, but this rebuff, far from toning down his hostility, aggravated his bitterness. He hired an assassin to kill the saint. Shaikh Nizām-u'd-dīn Auliyā says:

'One day Shaikh-u'l-Islam Farīd-u'd-dīn offered his morning prayer and placed his head in *sijdah*. He used to spend some

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[1] *Fawā'id u'l-Fu'ād*, p. 122-23; *Akhbār-u'l-Akhyār*, p. 287-88; *Ma'ārij u'l-Walāyat*, MS.

[2] *Fawā'id-u'l-Fu'ād*, p. 96; *Siyar-u'l-'Ārifīn*, p. 43.

time in that position very often. As it was bitterly chill, a *postīn* was spread over him There was no servant present at that time except myself A man suddenly appeared and accosted so loudly that the Shaikh was disturbed in his devotions The Shaikh, in that very position of prostration and with the *postīn* over him, asked "Who is here?" "I am," I replied Afterwards the Shaikh said "The man who has come is a Turk of a medium size with slightly yellowish colour?" I looked at that man and found that he was exactly the same "Yes, he is like this," I replied Then the Shaikh asked "Is he wearing a chain round his waist?" When I looked at him again I found that also "Yes", I replied Then he asked "Has he anything in his ears?" I looked at him and found that he had. "Yes, he has rings," I replied Every time that I looked at the man, his colour changed "Tell him", the Shaikh told me, "to go away before he is disgraced". The man took to his heels and disappeared[1] "

Failing in that attempt too, the Qādī began to harass the sons of the Shaikh They complained to their father who replied "You will soon get rid of them" Soon afterwards the Shaikh's enemies got scattered and those who remained developed faith in him [2]

But it appears, nevertheless, that the Qādī who succeeded him continued the policy of his predecessor He instigated the governor of Ajodhan to take action against him The Qādī and the governor both became hostile to the Shaikh The sons of the Shaikh were harassed and annoyed by the governor The eldest son of the Shaikh one day told his father in a very desperate and melancholy mood "The only advantage that we receive from your spiritual greatness is the constant persecution to which we are subjected by the governor" The Shaikh was pained at this report He struck his rod (*'asā*) on the ground in anger At that very moment, Shaikh Naṣīr-u'd-dīn Chirāgh-i-Dehlī informs us, the governor was afflicted with a severe pain in his stomach "Take me to the house of Shaikh Farīd-u'd-dīn," he cried in pain He died soon afterwards [3]

The Shaikh's life was a hard one He had never the affluence and plenty which his friend and contemporary Shaikh Bahā-u'd-dīn Zakariyyā enjoyed He lived a life of poverty and distress In his last years he was in extremely straitened circumstances There was no *futūḥ* and the family was a big one These difficulties, however, could not disturb the inner peace of his mind. His companions were men of the same kidney They stood by the side of their master through thick and thin.

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[1] *Fawā'id-u'l-Fu'ād*, p 153 The author of *Siyar-u'l-'Ārifīn* says that he had an open knife hidden in his armpit and that he was employed by the Qādī (p 34-35) Jamālī calls the assassin a *qalandar* (p 35) Amīr Ḥasan calls him a Turk (p 153)

[2] Jamālī says that on hearing these complaints, the Shaikh advised his sons:

"جور و جفای ایشان بکشید که کشنده کشته باشد" *Siyar-u'l-'Ārifīn*, p 34.

[3] *Khair-u'l-Majālis*, p 182.

CHAPTER IX

Life in Ajodhan

(a) *The Shaikh and His Family*

Far from the atmosphere of courts and camps, Bābā Farīd lived near the main mosque of Ajodhan in a small thatched building constructed of wood and mud and passed his days and nights in prayers and in attending to the problems of the spiritually starved people. His life was one long struggle against poverty, against self and against sin. Very often kings and their ministers requested him to accept villages for his expenses but he declined the offer firmly and preferred to starve with his big family rather than debase the traditions of higher mysticism.

THE SHAIKH'S HOUSE

When Bābā Farīd's family increased and his children grew up, he built a small *kachcha* house for them.[1] Later on, a devotee prevailed upon his sons to obtain the saint's permission to rebuild it with unbaked brick. The Shaikh lived in this house till his death. During his lifetime another devotee had expressed his desire to build for him a house of baked brick, but the Shaikh refused the offer with the remark: "Mas'ūd will not put brick on brick."[2]

HIS FAMILY

Bābā Farīd had a number of wives and a big family. Shaikh Naṣīr-u'd-dīn Chirāgh-i-Dehli is reported in *Siyar-u'l-Auliyā* to have stated on the authority of his master that Shaikh Farīd-u'd-dīn had many wives (حرم بسیار بود).[3] In the *Khair-u'l-Majālis* Shaikh Naṣīr-u'd-dīn is reported to have said that Shaikh Farīd had two or three wives (دو حرم بود یا سه حرم).[4] The Shaikh treated them all justly and equitably.[5] However, to provide for this large family must have been a problem for him, particularly in the closing years of his life when the door of *futuh* (unasked for charity) had almost been closed on him. Very often the family had to starve. The maid servant would come and report: "Khwaja! This son of yours has starved for two days", or "This wife of yours has starved for two days". But these reports could hardly disturb the peace of his mind, and, as

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[1] *Siyar-u'l-'Ārifīn*, p. 34, *Mir'āt-u'l-Asrār* (MS) p. 550.

[2] *Siyar-u'l-Auliyā*, p. 90.

[3] *Siyar-u'l-Auliyā*, p. 66.

[4] *Khair-u'l-Majālis*, p. 89.

[5] *Siyar-u'l-Auliyā*, p. 194.

Shaikh Nasir-u'd-dīn Chirāgh-i-Dehlī tells us, these reports were like "a passing wind for him[1]."

One day a wife of the Shaikh told him, "Khwāja! To-day my son is about to expire from starvation." The Shaikh who was lost in his mystic contemplation, raised his head, as if enraged at the distraction caused by the report, and said "What has poor Mas'ūd to do in this matter? If Fate has so decreed and he dies, tie a rope round his feet and throw him out and come back[2]." This remark of the Shaikh should be read in its proper context. It would be utterly wrong to infer on the basis of this observation that the Shaikh was indifferent towards his children or that he did not care to perform his duties towards his dependants. There are moments in a Shaikh's life when he refuses to be disturbed in the least by domestic problems or worries of the mundane world.[3]

One day a visitor from Patiāli[4] conveyed to him the respects of his dearest son Nizām-u'd-dīn. The Shaikh was so deeply sunk in his contemplation that he did not recognize his son and went on questioning the visitor "Whom do you refer?" It was after a very great difficulty that the visitor could make him understand that his own son had sent the message.[5]

These stories reveal the extent to which the Shaikh was sometimes absorbed in his mystic contemplation and should not, therefore, be cited to prove his indifference towards his family members. There are several anecdotes in contemporary religious literature which show his deep affection and love towards his sons and grandsons. One day, when he was sitting on his cot, his grandson 'Alā-u'd-dīn, then a small babe, came to him and, resting on a *patti* of his cot stood on floor. The Shaikh took out some betel from his mouth and put it into 'Alā-u'd-dīn's mouth. Soon afterwards the Shaikh left his cot, performed ablution (*Wadū*) and was about to proceed to his prayer-carpet that he found 'Alā u'd-dīn occupying it and playing on it. 'Īsā, a disciple of the Shaikh, would have persuaded the babe to leave the prayer-carpet but the Shaikh told him not to disturb him.[6]

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[1] *Khair-u'l-Majālis*, p 89 ایں سخن بادی بود کہ درایں گوش آمدی و بداں گوش رفتی *Siyar-u'l-Auliyā* pp 66-67

[2] *Siyar-u'l-Auliyā*, p 67, *Akhbār-u'l-Akhyār*, p 52

[3] Prof Muhammad Habīb interprets this remark differently. He says that in this way the Shaikh gave to his family a lesson in patience.

[4] A small town in the district of Etah. Abū'l Faḍl (*Ā'īn-i-Akbarī* Calcutta Vol I, p 35) mentions it in the *sircar* of Qannauj. At that time it was situated on the bank of the river Ganges. (See Khursraw, *Dībāchah Ghurrat-u'l-Kamāl*)

[5] *Fawā'id-u'l-Fu'ād* p 223. See also p 160. The saint recognized after great difficulty a visitor he had met in the Khānqah of Shaikh Quṭb-u'd-dīn Bakhtiyār Kākī.

[6] *Siyar-u'l-Auliyā*, p 194. The Shaikh told him in the Hindiwī language "'Īsā, let him sit there." عیسیٰ منع آمر بهی

It seems that the Shaikh's family has considerably increased in the last years of his life and consisted of a large number of sons, daughters, grandsons and granddaughters. Some of his grandsons had left Ajodhan during his lifetime and had settled at different places in the vicinity [1]

THE SHAIKH'S CLOTHES, BEDDING, ETC

Never in his long life did Bābā Farīd wear good clothes Both poverty and inclination forced him to have tattered garments on his body Early in his life when Shaikh Jalāl-u'd-dīn Tabrīzī met him at Kahtwāl his clothes were in shreds [2] Later on when he met Maulānā Nūr Turk his clothes were no better [3] When he reached Dehlī, years afterwards, he was clad in grimy clothes [4] During his stay in Ajodhan he continued to live in the same condition. Whenever any body presented a new dress to him he gave it to the needy [5]

The Shaikh had no bedding He had a blanket (*galīm*) on which he used to sit during the day This blanket was spread out on an ordinary and loosely woven cot at bed-time, and it was so small that it did not cover the whole cot A rug (*shuqqah*) was placed at the end of the cot If the Shaikh covered his body with it, the end of the cot remained without any cover The Shaikh had no pillow and used to put the staff (*'asā*) of his master under his head after kissing it respectfully [6]

FOOD AND FASTS

Shaikh Farīd used to fast constantly [7] He took nothing at the time of *saḥr*,[8] and passed the whole day in prayers and in attending to visitors

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[1] *Fawā'id-u'l-Fu'ād*, p 147

One day Muhammad, a grandson of the Shaikh, who was affectionately called Mamman and lived in a neighbouring village came to see his grandfather Some one had reported to the Shaikh that Mamman had acquired the habit of drinking wine As soon as he appeared before the Shaikh he asked 'Muhammad Mamman' People have reported that you take intoxicants No, replied Mamman 'I do not They have falsely reported ' The Shaikh who had a keen insight into human nature did not pursue the matter further 'It will be as you say," he remarked and shelved the matter Mamman alone knew what the Shaikh meant by this remark *Fawā'id-u'l-Fu'ād* pp 147-8

[2] *Siyar-u'l-Auliyā*, p 63

[3] *Siyar-u'l Auliyā*, p 62

[4] While in Dehlī he attended a sermon of Shaikh Badr u'd-dīn Ghaznawī who showered encomiums on him He was in so grimy and tattered clothes that no one could recognize him in that meeting When he returned home a man presented a new dress to him Bābā Farīd accepted the present and wore the new clothes but soon took them off and gave them to Shaikh Najīb u'd-dīn Mutawakkil with the remark 'The pleasure that I have in my grimy and tattered garments is not to be found in these new clothes " *Siyar-u'l Auliyā*, p 62 See also, *Akhbār-u'l-Akhyār* p 51

[5] Sayyid Muhammad Gēsū Darāz however informs us that Shaikh Farīd-u'd-dīn always possessed four pairs of clothes— —one on his body one with the washerman, one in reserve for use in emergency lest some pollution prevented him from offering his prayers in time, and the fourth one for some needy person *Jawāma'-u'l-Kilam*, p 151, *Ma'ārij-u'l-Walāyat*, (MS)

[6] *Fawā'id-u'l-Fu'ād*, pp 51-52, *Siyar-u'l-Auliyā*, p 65, *Akhbar-u'l-Akhyar*, p 51

[7] *Fawā'id-ul-Fu'ād* p 184 *Siyar-u'l-Auliyā*, p 64

[8] *Siyar-u'l-Auliyā*, p 386 Saḥr——-Before the dawn of the day Also the meal which is taken before the dawn of day to enable one to fast till sun set.

of all types, without showing the slightest sign of exhaustion or fatigue. At the time of *iftār* (breaking the fast) some *sherbet* and dried grapes (*munaqqa*) were brought before him He took one third or one half of the bowl of *sherbet* and distributed the rest amongst those present. Afterwards, two pieces of bread smeared with some *ghee* were brought. One piece was distributed amongst the audience, the other was placed before the Shaikh, but he shared it also with others.[1] The Shaikh always used *juwār* (millet) for his bread [2]

This one third of a bowl of *sherbet*, a few dried grapes and half a piece of bread was all that Bābā Farīd took in twenty-four hours. When the dinner cloth was spread in his *Jamā'at Khānah*, he did not share anything with his disciples

THE SHAIKH'S ROUTINE

Shaikh Farīd led a highly disciplined life and meticulously followed his daily programme (*zābiṭah*) He took his bath every day [3] It was also his daily practice to spend two hours in prostration (*sajdah*) after the morning prayer [4] The doors of his room were closed when he was engaged in prayers and no one could enter it as long as he was busy with his devotions It is difficult to explain the condition of his emotions when he was alone. He would frequently recite verses and lay his head in prostration [5] After the *ẓuhr* prayers the Shaikh received his visitors.[6] He never retired into his room unless he had attended to the problem of every visitor. He used to say "There can be no pleasure in devotions so long as there remains a single needy person at the door." After these interviews the Shaikh busied himself with his devotions in his small room. Every night, after *iftār*, he used to call Shaikh Nizām-u'd-dīn Auliyā, when in Ajodhan, to his presence Sometimes Maulānā Shihāb-u'd-dīn or Maulānā Rukn-u'd-dīn also attended The Shaikh asked them about the happenings of the day "امروز چه گذشت و چه حال بود!"[7] and showed deep concern for the inmates of the *Jamā'at Khānah*

PERSONAL ATTENDANTS OF THE SHAIKH

Shaikh Badr-u'd-dīn Isḥāq was the chief personal attendant of the Shaikh. According to Shaikh Niẓām-u'd-dīn Auliyā he served his master so well that even ten servants could not have served him so efficiently [8]

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[1] *Fawā'id-u'l-Fu'ād*, p 51, *Siyar-u'l-Auliyā* p 65; *Akhbār-u'l-Akhyār*, p 51.

[2] *Siyar-u'l-Auliyā*, p 386

[3] *Siyar-u'l-Auliyā*, p 386

Amīr Khurd quotes another report also in which it is said that the Shaikh used to bathe five times a day, before every obligatory prayer (p 386)

[4] *Fawā'id-u'l-Fu'ād* p 152

[5] *Fawā'id-u'l-Fu'ād*, p 203

[6] *Siyar-u'l-Auliyā*, p 442

[7] *Fawā'id-u'l-Fu'ad*, p 160

[8] *Siyar-u'l-Auliyā*, p 177

He was always in the attendance of the saint When the Shaikh closed his *hujrah*, Maulānā Badr-u'd-dīn sat at the door [1] Once the Shaikh called Maulānā Badr-u'd-dīn. The Maulānā was offering his prayer but at the call of his Shaikh he cried out in the midst of his prayer, "I am present[2]."

Besides Maulānā Badr-u'd-dīn there were other disciples also who performed personal service to the Shaikh Khwāja Aḥmad Siwistānī used to fetch water for ablutions and other requirements of the saint.[3] Sometimes he washed the Shaikh's clothes also Once the Shaikh asked him to wash his clothes He went to a stream, washed the clothes and brought them back to the Shaikh The Shaikh ordered him to wash them a second time Khwāja Aḥmad realized that he had not properly performed the work assigned to him He had performed ablution after washing the clothes, though he should have first performed ablution and then washed the clothes When he brought the clothes before the Shaikh after washing them a second time he instructed him to wash them a third time Khwāja Aḥmad was taken by surprise because this time he had taken all possible care to wash the Shaikh's clothes properly He brooded over the fault and then discovered that the branches of the tree on which he had spread the clothes were polluted [4]

There was a disciple, 'Īsā by name, who looked after some private and personal matters of the Shaikh Amīr Khurd writes about him[5]

"عیسی . در خلوت خدمت کردی و محرمی را کہ نوبت او بودی بخدمت شیخ
شیوخ العالم فرستادی و نوبت این شغل نگاهداشتی تا عدل درین کار مرعی ماند"

Amīr Khurd has referred to a *ghulām* of the Shaikh, Akhī Mubārak [6] No details about the nature of his work are available

PRAYERS IN GRAVEYARD

Bābā Farīd often used to pray in a graveyard outside the city where many martyrs lay buried [7] Once the Shaikh fell seriously ill. He called Shaikh Niẓām-u'd-dīn Auliyā and some other disciples and asked them to go to that graveyard and pray there for his health These disciples carried their food with them and prayed there for a few days on a balcony of the graveyard When they returned to the *Jamā'at Khānah* and reported to the Shaikh the compliance of his order, the Shaikh remained quiet for

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[1] *Khair-u'l Majālis* p 224

[2] *Fawā'id-u'l-Fu'ād* p 231

[3] Once Khwāja Ahmad could not carry *mashk* (sheep-skin tanned specially for carrying water) due to severe pain in his back The Shaikh called him to his presence and put his hand on his back Never again in his long life, says Amīr Khurd, did Khwāja Aḥmad ever suffer from pain in the back *Siyar-u'l-Auliyā*, p 86

[4] *Siyar-u'l Auliyā* p 86

[5] *Siyar-u'l-Auliyā*, p 194

[6] *Siyar-u'l-Auliyā*, p 172

[7] *Siyar-u'l-Auliyā*, p 90

a while and then remarked "Your prayer did not produce any sign of health" Shaikh Nizām-u'd-dīn kept silent at this remark, but his friend 'Alī Bihārī who was standing behind him, replied, "We are imperfect The Shaikh's holy self is perfect How can the prayer of imperfect people be effective for perfect ones?" As the Shaikh could not hear what 'Alī Bihārī had said, Shaikh Nizām-u'd-dīn Auliyā repeated his reply. The Shaikh turned his face towards Shaikh Nizām-u'd-dīn Auliyā and said, "I have prayed to God to grant all your prayers[1]" Then the Shaikh gave a staff (*'asā*) to Shaikh Nizām-u'd-dīn Auliyā and ordered him to go again to the graveyard along with Maulānā Badr-u'd-dīn Isḥāq and pray there Both the saints prayed there throughout the night and when they returned, the Shaikh praised the efficacy of their prayers[2]

SHAIKH, A VICTIM OF MAGIC

Once Shaikh Farīd fell seriously ill He did not take anything for many days Every one in the Khānqah was worried and perplexed Experienced physicians were called They examined his pulse and urine but failed to diagnose the disease The Shaikh's condition deteriorated every day and no one could discover what his illness was The Shaikh called his son, Shaikh Badr-u'd-dīn Sulaimān and his disciple, Shaikh Nizām-u'd dīn Auliyā, and asked them to pray for his recovery Shaikh Badr-u'd-dīn dreamt in the night that an old man came to him and said "Your father is the victim of magic" Badr-u d-dīn asked him in his dream as to who was responsible for this evil act The old man informed him that it was the work of the son of Shihāb-u'd-dīn, the magician Shaikh Badr-u'd-dīn further asked him as to how the effect of the magic could be counteracted The old man asked him to sit by the side of Shihāb's grave and recite a particular prayer Next morning Shaikh Badr-u'd-dīn reported the dream to his ailing father who ordered Shaikh Nizām-u'd-dīn Auliyā to commit the prayer to memory and recite it at the grave of Shihāb, the magician Shihāb was a well-known figure in Ajodhan and Shaikh Nizām-u'd-dīn had no difficulty in reaching his grave While reciting the prayer Shaikh Nizām u'd-dīn began to remove the earth from above the cenotaph of the grave All of a sudden he came across a small human statue made of flour with a horse's hair tied round it and pierced throughout by needles Shaikh Nizām-u'd-dīn brought the statue to Bābā Farīd who asked him to take out the needles and remove the hair As the needles were drawn out one by one the Shaikh found his condition getting better The figurine was thrown into the river[3] The governor of Ajodhan heard about the matter and was so enraged that he arrested

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[1] *Fawā'id-u'l-Fu'ad*, p. 52

[2] *Fawā'id-u'l-Fu'ad*, p 59

[3] The compiler of *Jawāma'-u'l-Kilam* says that the Shaikh was taken to a river where he bathed and where the statue was thrown

شیخ را ہمہ در لب آب آدھانی کہ فریدوال می گویند بردہ

p. 139.

the son of Shihāb, and sent him in fetters to the Shaikh. "This man," the governor said in his message, "deserves capital punishment If you permit me, I shall take his life in retaliation " "God has given me health, I forgive him in gratitude (for my recovery) You should also overlook his wrong," was the Shaikh's reply to the governor's message.[1]

DAYS OF DISTRESS

In his last years the Shaikh had to pass his days in extreme indigence. Even during the sacred month of Ramadān the household got very little at the *iftār* time Shaikh Nizām-u'd-dīn Auliyā lived with the Shaikh throughout the month of Ramadān, but never for a single day did he get a square meal When he was about to leave for Dehli, Shaikh Farīd gave him a gold coin (*Sulṭānī*) But that was the last coin with Shaikh Farīd's household In the evening Shaikh Nizām-u'd-dīn Auliyā found that the entire family would have to go without dinner He placed his master's gift again at his feet [2]

It is very difficult to explain the reasons for this poverty of the Shaikh in the closing years of his life He was at the height of his fame and his disciples were spread throughout the country How was it that the stream of *futūh* completely dried up at this time ?

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[1] *Fawā id-u l-Fu ād* p 178, *Siyar-u l- Arifīn*, pp 39-40

[2] *Siyar a'l-Auliyā*, p 66

CHAPTER X

Life in Ajodhan

(b) *The Jamā'at Khānah and its Visitors*

Muslim mystics of the middle ages laid great emphasis on community life. They considered a life of solitary, self-sufficient contemplation to be incompatible with the highest mystic ideals because it made a man egocentric, limited his sympathies and cut him off completely from the energising currents of social life. They, therefore, constructed *Khānqahs* and *Jamā'at Khānahs* where men of different temperaments and different attitudes rubbed their shoulders and learnt to live together. All tensions, conflicts and complexes in their character were, thereby, resolved and their personalities were moulded in consonance with the spirit of the *silsilah*. Besides, here they were taught, by precept and example, the most difficult of all human lessons——the subordination of human desires to moral and spiritual ideals. Common sufferings and penitences drew out the noblest qualities of their souls and made them understand the divine significance of life. The *Khānqahs* and the *Jamā'at Khānahs* of the middle ages consequently became an integral part of the mystic discipline.

THE INMATES

The *Jamā'at Khānah* of Shaikh Farīd——a large room, where his disciples slept, prayed and studied on the ground——was one of the greatest centres of spiritual culture in medieval India. Here one could see mystic principles being actually translated into practice. Spiritually starved people flocked to it from far and near. Let us introduce the reader to a few inmates of this *Jamā'at Khānah*.

"Here is Maulānā Badr-u'd-dīn, Isḥāq once a great scholar of Dehlī,[1] but now an humble servant of the Shaikh. He receives visitors, looks after the comfort of the inmates of the *Jamā'at Khānah* and devotedly serves the Shaikh day and night.[2] He is a man of emotions and, do you see, tears are flowing from his eyes. When he bows in *sijdah*, his tears make the prayer-carpet wet.[3]

"Here is Sayyid Maḥmūd Kirmānī,[4] once a flourishing businessman of Kirmān, now a starving disciple of the Shaikh. He used to come to

[1] *Siyar-u'l-Auliyā*, p 170
[2] *Siyar-u'l-Auliyā*, p 170-171
[3] *Siyar-u l-Auliyā*, p 172
[4] He was the grandfather of the author of *Siyar-u'l-Auliyā*.

Ajodhan to see the Shaikh. One day he decided, all of a sudden, to give up his life of affluence and plenty and settled here with his wife Bībī Rānī, daughter of a mint officer of Multān Bībī Rānī is a lady of fervent piety She looks after the comforts of the inmates of the *Jamā'at Khānah* as a sister looks after her brothers One day she asked Maulānā Badr-u'd-dīn Isḥāq "Brother! If you stop weeping for a little while, I will put *surmā* (condimium) in your eyes" The Maulānā replied "What am I to do, sister? My tears are not under my control[1]." She is a very kind and affectionate lady One day, on seeing Shaikh Nizām-u'd-dīn Auliyā in grimy and tattered clothes, she gave a *chādar* to him to cover his body and then washed his clothes and patched them[2]

"Here is Nizām-u'd-dīn, a brilliant product of the academic institutions of Badā'un and Dehlī He was expected to have a 'fine' career, but he has joined the discipline of the Shaikh and lives here like other inmates The other day when he came here for the first time, the Shaikh ordered a cot to be provided for him It was a rare honour that the Shaikh conferred on him He is young in years but ripe in devotions A few days back he met one of his class-fellows who was much surprised and shocked at his poverty,[3] but he is so firm in his convictions that nothing can dissuade him from the path he has chosen for himself

"Here is Hamīd, once in the service of Malik Ṭughril[4] at Dehlī. It is interesting to know how he came to this *Jamā'at Khānah*. One day he was standing before his master, Ṭughril, when he saw a figure (*ṣūrat*) which addressed him thus "Hamīd! Why are you standing before this man?" So saying the figure disappeared He was perplexed at this. He saw the figure three times repeating the same question "Hamīd! Why do you stand before this man" He replied to the figure "Why should I not stand before him? I am his servant He is the master. He gives me my pay Why should I not stand (before him)?" The figure replied "You are a scholar, he is an ignorant man You are a free man, he is a slave You are a pious man, he is a sinner" He relinquished his service and came to this *Jamā'at Khānah* Occasionally he delivers sermons,[5] but usually he is busy in his devotions.

"Here is Maulānā Jamāl Hānswī, once a prosperous Khaṭīb, but now a starving disciple He lives in Hānsī but often comes to this *Jamā'at*

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[1] *Siyar-u'l-Auliyā*, p 171

[2] *Siyar-u'l-Auliyā*, p 115

[3] *Siyar-u'l-Auliyā*, p 239

[4] Ṭughril was a Turkish slave of Sulṭān Balban He was known for his generosity, courage and cleverness The Sulṭān appointed him Governor of Lakhnautī where he rebelled and proclaimed himself a King with the title of Sulṭān Mughīth-u'd-dīn Balban marched against him in person He was ultimately beheaded See *Tārīkh-i-Fīrūz Shāhī*, pp 90-92

[5] *Fawā'id-u'l-Fu'ād*, p 204, *Siyar-u'l-'Ārifīn* pp 54-55.

Khānah [1] As long as he stays here he performs all sorts of work along with his comrades and friends. He is one of the dearest disciples of the Shaikh [2]

"Here is a *ṣūfī*. I do not know wherefrom he has come, but he is always busy in his devotions One day his clothes were so dirty that Maulānā Badr-ū'd-dīn Isḥāq could not help asking him. "Why do you not wash your clothes?" But he kept quiet After a few days the Maulānā again put the same question to him but a bit sternly "Where is the leisure to wash these clothes?" he replied in a meek voice which excited pity Maulānā Isḥāq was so deeply touched at his words that he cannot look at him without being moved to tears [3]

"Here is Naṣīr, a scholar who gave up his studies to join the *Jamā'at Khānah* When he was admitted into the discipline his head was shaved but he felt so odd without his hair that one day he was found asking a *jogi* about some medicine for growing hair He has been here for sometime and now he has so completely changed that the other day when Khwāja Waḥīd-u'd-dīn, a grandson of Khwāja Mu'īn-u'd-dīn, was shaved, he also got his head shaved [4]

"Here is a former *nawīsindah* (clerk), he left his service, committed his family to the care of his brother and came to this *Jamā'at Khānah* to spend his time in prayers and penitences[5] "

The *Jamā'at Khānah* of Shaikh Farīd abounded in large number of such persons -former merchants, government servants, scholars, etc. Only a few inmates have been introduced here [6]

MANAGEMENT OF THE JAMĀ'AT KHANAH

The *Jamā'at Khānah* was managed by the inmates themselves. They performed different duties Maulānā Badr-u'd-dīn Isḥāq used to go to the jungle and collect wood for the joint household Maulānā Jamāl-u'd dīn Hānswī's duty was to pluck *deluh* from the *Kareel* trees. Maulānā Hussām-u'd-dīn had to fetch water and wash the utensils of the kitchen [7] The entire household rejoiced when the efforts of these people succeeded in providing a square meal for the inmates of the *Jamā'at Khānah* Shaikh Nizām-u'd-dīn Auliyā used to say[8]

"در آن شب که ڈیله .. در خانهٔ شیخ میبر می خوردیم مارا روز عید بودی"

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[1] *Fawā'id-u'l-Fu'ād* p 42

[2] See infra Chapter XIII

[3] *Fawā'id u'l-Fu'ād*, p 244
Siyar-u'l-Auliyā, p 420

[4] *Fawā'id-u'l-Fu'ād*, p 238

[5] *Khair-u'l-Majālis*, p 147

[6] When Shaikh Nizām-u'd-dīn Auliyā reached the *Jamā'at Khānah* he found many *huffāz* and scholars sleeping on the ground *Siyar-u'l-Auliyā*, p 107

[7] *Fawā'id-u'l-Fu'ād*, p 74, *Khair-u'l-Majālis*, p 188, *Siyar-u'l-Auliyā*, pp. 86-209, *Siyar-u'l-'Ārifīn*, pp 61-62

[8] *Khair-u'l-Majālis*, p 150

But when sufficient food could not be procured the Shaikh permitted his disciples to circulate his *zanbīl*[1] (a bowl made of dried and hollow gourd) amongst the neighbours No earlier saint of the Chishti *Silsilah* had ever permitted or approved of the practice of circulating *zanbīl.* It seems that Bābā Farīd permitted his disciples to circulate it when reduced to extremes, and in preference to the practice of borrowing money. The Shaikh never permitted his disciples to incur any debt Once a servant purchased salt on credit The Shaikh refused to partake of the food prepared from that salt[2]

Once Shaikh Nizām-u'd-dīn Auliyā was staying in the *Jamā'at Khānah* of Shaikh Farīd He was assigned the duty of boiling *delahs* brought from the jungle by his comrades One day when boiling the *delahs* he found that there was no salt available in the *Jamā'at Khānah.* He went to a neighbouring grocer and purchased some salt on credit When the dish was ready, Shaikh Nizām-u'd-dīn placed it before the Shaikh. As soon as the saint put his hand into the dish he said "My hand has become heavier May be that I am not permitted to take the morsel to my mouth Perhaps there is some doubtful thing in it." So saying the Shaikh put the morsel back into the dish Shaikh Nizām-u'd-dīn trembled as he heard these words He stood up, placed his head on the ground and humbly submitted "My master! Shaikh Jalāl, Maulānā Badr-u'd-dīn Ishāq and Maulānā Hussām-u'd-dīn bring wood, *delah* and water for the kitchen This poor fellow boils the *delah* and takes full care in its preparation, and brings it before the master There seems to me nothing to doubt about it But the reality is known to the master." The Shaikh asked about the salt Shaikh Nizām-u'd-dīn again placed his head on the ground and explained the position Bābā Farīd then remarked

"درویشان اگر از فاقه میرند از برای لذت نفس قرض نگیرند، زیرا که قرض و توکل بعد المشرقین است، بهم راست نیاید"

(The *dervishes* prefer dying of starvation to incurring any debt for the satisfaction of their (baser) desires Debt and Resignation are poles apart and cannot subsist together)

After this admonition the Shaikh ordered him to remove that dish from the *Jamā'at Khānah*[3]

There were times when the Shaikh was in such indigent circumstances that he could not provide even a dinner-cloth and people had to take their meals on the ground[4]

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[1] *Khair-u'l-Majālis* p 150, *Siyar-u'l-Auliyā*, p. 66

[2] *Siyar-u'l-Auliyā* p 66, *Siyar-u l-'Ārifīn*, p 62

[3] *Siyar-u l-Auliyā*, p 66
Siyar-u'l-'Ārifīn, p 62

[4] *Fawā'id-u'l-Fu'ād*, p 55

VISITORS AND THEIR PROBLEMS

The *Jamā'at Khānah* of Shaikh Farīd remained open till midnight [1] All types of people—scholars, politicians, soldiers, Hindu *jogis*, qalandars—visited it They came with different objects The Shaikh attended to the individual problem of every visitor and welcomed the strangers and the acquaintance with equal warmth and affection [2] His conversation was inspiring, every one who happened to talk with him found himself captivated.

The following incidents and stories selected from the earliest accounts will give some idea of the atmosphere that prevailed in the *Jamā'at Khānah* and the problems that the people brought to the Shaikh

(i) Once a man started from Dehlī in order to repent before Shaikh Farīd in Ajodhan On the way a female singer joined the caravan The woman was a bad character She designed to become intimate with the man who constantly avoided being entangled in her amorous advances But, at one stage of their journey, the man and the woman had to mount the same cart and the woman found an opportunity of enticing him As soon as the man extended his hand towards her a man appeared to him (in a vision) and slapped him "You are going to Shaikh Farīd in order to repent," he said, "What is this?" The man was horrified and he did not look at the woman again When he reached the *Jamā'at Khānah*, the first thing that Shaikh Farīd said to him was "God protected you well on that day"[3] This man who came for repentance brought a problem for the Shaikh How to make this 'repentance' effective and how to prevent the recurrence of such incidents in his life?

(ii) A tax-collector with whom the governor of Ajodhan was extremely displeased came to the Shaikh and requested him to intercede in the matter The Shaikh sent his servant[4] to the governor with a polite message "Please forgive this worried tax-collector for the sake of this *durwesh*[5]"

(بحرمت این درویش این نویسنده دلریش معذور باید بود)

The governor turned a deaf ear to the Shaikh's request The tax-collector again came to the Shaikh worried and perplexed "I appealed for you to the governor" the Shaikh told him, "but he has paid no attention to my request May be, you have also, in your turn, been equally indifferent to the appeals of the unfortunate" The tax-collector

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[1] *Fawā'id-u'l-Fu'ād*, p 74, *Siyar-u'l-Auliyā* p 64

[2] *Fawā'id-u'l-Fu'ād* p 74, *Siyar-u'l Auliyā* p 65

[3] *Fawā'id-u'l-Fu'ād*, pp 219-220, *Siyar-u'l-Auliyā*, p 85

[4] *Fawā'id-u'l-Fu'ād*, (p 147) has کسی را جانب والی فرستاد
The Siyar-u'l-'Ārifīn, (p 38) has خادمی را بدان والی فرستاد

[5] *Siyar-u'l-'Ārifīn*, p 38

expressed his repentance and submitted "I promise I will not be harsh to any one in future even if he happens to be my enemy[1]"

(iii) Shams, a native of Sunnām, came to the *Jamā'at Khānah* and recited a *qaṣīdah* with the Shaikh's permission "What do you want?" the Shaikh asked him as soon as he finished his *qaṣīdah* "I have to look after an aged mother and have financial worries," submitted Shams The Shaikh asked him to bring something for distribution among the needy and the poor Shams presented 50 *jītals* which were distributed amongst those present The Shaikh then prayed for his prosperity Shams got an appointment as *dabīr*[2] in the service of Sultan Balban's son, Bughrā Khān

(iv) One day an aged man came to Shaikh Farīd and, while introducing himself reminded him that he had met him in the *Khānqah* of Shaikh Quṭb-u'd dīn Bakhtiyār Kākī The old man was accompanied by his son who was extremely disrespectful and insolent He entered into an acrimonious discussion with the Shaikh and began to shout loudly Shaikh Nizām-u'd-dīn Auliyā and the saint's son, Maulāna Shihāb-u'd-dīn, were at the door When they heard the lad talking insolently to the saint, Maulāna Shihāb-u'd-dīn entered the room and gave a slap on the face of the boy The boy lost his temper and was about to strike at Maulāna Shihāb-u'd-dīn that Shaikh Nizām-u'd-dīn Auliyā caught hold of his hands The Shaikh ordered his son Maulānā Shihāb-u'd-dīn to please the visitors The Maulāna gave some cloth and money to both the father and the son who left the *Jamā'at Khānah* happy and satisfied[3]

(v) One day a man came to the Shaikh and requested him to do something to remove his misery and poverty The Shaikh advised him to recite *Surah-i-Juma'* every night[4]

(vi) A poorly dressed *durwesh* came to the Shaikh who gave him something and permitted him to depart The *durwesh* remained standing and asked the Shaikh to give him the comb which he had taken out from its cover and placed on the prayer-carpet As the comb was not worth anything and had been long used by the Shaikh, he did not reply to the request The *durwesh* began to shout loudly. "If the Shaikh gives me this comb, he will receive plenty of blessings."

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[1] *Siyar-u'l-'Arifīn* pp 38-39
Fawā'id-u'l-Fu'ād, p 147
Many people brought such problems to the Shaikh See *Khair-u'l-Majālis*, pp 236-38

[2] *Fawā'id-u'l-Fu'ād*, p 127
Siyar-u'l-'Arifīn, p 54

[3] *Fawā'id-u'l-Fu'ād*, p 160

[4] *Fawā'id-u'l-Fu'ād*, p 57

"Be off," he replied, "and do not disturb me any more I throw you and your blessings into the river[1] "

(vii) A *qalandar* came to the *Jamā'at Khānah* at the time when the Shaikh was busy in his devotions in his room He sat down on the Shaikh's prayer-carpet which was lying outside the *hujrah* Maulāna Badr-u'd-dīn Isḥāq entertained the visitor and brought food for him Having enjoyed the food, the *qalandar* took out some hemp-leaves from his leathern bag and began to prepare a mixture Some drops fell on the Shaikh's prayer-carpet Maulāna Badr-u'd-dīn stepped forward and tried to stop the *qalandar* from polluting the Shaikh's prayer-carpet The *qalandar* got enraged and was about to hit the *kachkol* on Maulāna Isḥāq that Shaikh Farīd rushed out from his room and caught the *qalandar's* hand "Forgive him for my sake", said Shaikh Farīd "The dervishes do not raise their hands," replied the *qalandar*, "but when they do so they do not take them down " "Throw it on that wall," said Shaikh Farīd. The *qalandar* threw the *kachkol* on a wall which fell down instantly [2]

CROWD FOR TA'WĪZ

Large crowds gathered everyday in the *Jamā'at Khānah* of Shaikh Farīd for *ta'wīz* (amulets) [3] One day Shaikh Farīd submitted to his *pir* Shaikh Quṭb-u'd-dīn Bakhtiyār Kākī "People demand *ta'wīz* from me What is your order? Should I write and give (them)?" "Power to get a work done lies neither in your hand nor in mine", replied Shaikh Quṭb-u'd-dīn, "*Ta'wīz* contains the name of God and the Word of God (Qur'ānic verse) Do write and do give to the people[4] ' From that time the Shaikh began to distribute *ta'wīz* to the people, but it was very difficult for him to write so many *ta'wīz* with his own hand He had, therefore, assigned this work to Maulāna Badr-u'd-dīn Isḥāq One day, when the Maulāna was not present in the *Jamā'at Khānah*, the Shaikh ordered Shaikh Nizām-u'd-dīn Auliyā to prepare *ta'wīz* As the number of supplicants was very large, Shaikh Nizām-u'dīn got tired of writing them. The Shaikh said "I give thee permission to write amulets and give them to the people[5] "

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[1] *Khair-u'l-Majālis*, p 202

It is said that on his way back from the *Jamā'at Khānah* this *darvesh* got drowned in a river which flowed near the town

[2] *Khair u'l-Majālis*, pp 130-131

[3] *Fawā'id-u'l-Fu'ād*, p 200

So deep was the faith of the people in amulets that they came to the *Jamā'at Khānah* from distant places for this purpose Once when Shaikh Nizām-u'd-dīn Auliyā started for Ajodhan, a neighbour, Muhammad who had a serious ailment, requested him to bring an amulet for him from Shaikh Farīd When Shaikh Nizām-u'd-dīn placed Muhammad's request before his master, the later asked him to write a *ta'wīz* on his behalf Shaikh Nizām-u'd-dīn wrote the following Names of God on a piece of paper and presented it before the Shaikh who touched it read it and gave it back to him to be handed over to Muhammad (الله الشافی الله الکافی الله المعافی)

Fawā'id-u'l-Fu'ād, p 62

[4] *Fawā'id-u'l-Fu'ād*, p 200

[5] *Fawā'id-u'l-Fu'ād*, p 200

One day a hair fell from the beard of the Shaikh. Shaikh Nizām-u'd-dīn Auliyā respectfully picked it up and used it as *ta'wīz* with the the permission of the Shaikh [1]

Sometimes the Shaikh asked the supplicants to bring sweets It was generally believed that the Shaikh's asking for sweets meant the *fulfilment of the supplicant's desire* [2] The Shaikh sometimes recommended the recitation of Qur'ānic Verses or other religious formulae[3] as well as the performance of certain prayers for the fulfilment of their desires and the removal of their complaints [4] One day he asked his disciples in the *Jamā'at Khānah* to recite one lac times the *Surah-i-Fatihah*[5] for his recovery from illness [6]

INITIATION

Amīr Khurd has briefly described the manner in which Shaikh Farīd admitted people into his discipleship He asked every new entrant to recite first of all the *Surah-i-Fatihah*, the *Surah-i-Ikhlāṣ*[7] and a few other sacred texts Then he told him to confirm that he owed allegiance to him, his spiritual master the elders of his *silsilah* and the Prophet of Islam Later on, he asked him[8]

با حضرت عزت عهد کردی که دست و پائی و چشم نگاه داری و برنهج شرع باشی

(Solemnly promise to God that you will control your hands,
your feet and your eyes and will follow the path of *Shari'at*)

When the Shaikh bestowed his *Khirqah* (patched frock usually given to those disciples who were permitted to enrol disciples) on any body he recited the sentence

ولباس التقوی ذالک خیرو العاقبة للمتقین

(This is the dress of piety and the fruits of the next
world are for the pious)[9]

The Shaikh advised the recipients of *Khirqah* not to annoy anybody with their hands, eyes or tongues He exhorted them to fix their hearts on Him alone and devote all their time to mystic contemplation and scrupulously avoid being involved in evil desires [10]

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[1] *Fawā'id-u'l-Fu'ād* p 63

[2] *Fawā'id-u'l Fu'ād* p 127

[3] Shaikh Farīd instructed Shaikh Nizām u'd-dīn Auliyā to repeat a formula and said

این دعا را یادگیر و مواظبت نمائی تا ترا خلیفه خود گردانم

(Commit this prayer to memory and repeat it so that I may appoint you my successor) *Siyar u'l-Auliyā*, p 116

[4] *Fawā'id-u'l Fu'ād* p 57 See also pp 25-26, 57-59 The Shaikh teaches a particular prayer to Shaikh Nizam-u'd-dīn Auliyā and then asks him to repeat it before him several times

[5] *Qur'ān* S I

[6] *Fawā'id-u'l-Fu'ād*, p 57

[7] *Qur'ān* S CXII

[8] *Siyar-u'l Auliyā* p 323

[9] Ibid

[10] *Siyar-u'l-Auliyā* p 323

Shaving the head[1] (*Maḥlūq kardan*) of a new entrant to the mystic discipline was a popular practice amongst the Chishtīs It was considered to be an external expression of a disciple's determination to sacrifice his all in the way of God Sometimes Maulānā Badr-u'd-dīn Isḥāq shaved the heads of the new disciples

FUTŪH AND ITS DISTRIBUTION

Enormous *futūh*[2] came to the *Jamā'at Khānah* of Shaikh Farīd Almost every visitor who came to see him brought something for him[3] It was the practice of the Shaikh to give every visitor something out of the presents which others had brought[4] Maulānā Badr-u d-dīn Isḥāq had to look after the proper distribution of *futūh* The Shaikh's orders were to distribute everything that came to the *Jamā'at Khānah* and not to keep anything for the morrow as it meant lack of trust in God and a negation of the principle of *tawakkul*

THE SUHRAWARDĪ KHĀNQAH—A CONTRAST

Not very far from Ajodhan was the *khānqah* of Shaikh Bahā-u'd-dīn Zakariyyā in Multān Conditions in the Suhrawardī centre were entirely different from the Chishtī *Jamā'at Khānah* It had an aristocratic air both as to its structure and organization

Shaikh Bahā-u'd-dīn's *khānqah* was a sumptuous place It covered an extensive area and was well-furnished Separate accommodation was provided for every inmate and for the numerous visitors who flocked to it On the contrary the *khānqah*—or more appropriately the *Jamā'at Khānah*—of Shaikh Farid was a cosmopolitan affair All people, inmates as well as visitors, lived in a big hall, prayed there and slept there Shaikh Bahā u'd-dīn's *Khānqah* was not open to every one[5] Only those whom the Shaikh considered worthy of his attention were allowed to stay there The Chishtī *Jamā'at Khānah* had an open kitchen Any one and everyone who

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[1] For mystic explanation of this practice, see *Fawā'id-u'l-Fu'ād*, p 161

[2] The medieval Muslim mystics believed in two means of livelihood *Zamīn-i-Ihyā*, the produce of waste land which the mystic and his family cultivated and *Futūh*, gifts and presents which people brought to his house unasked The Chishtī mystics preferred *Futūh* to *Zamīn-i-Ihyā* because the later brought the mystic into contact with the government and its officials But strict rules were laid down with regard to the acceptance of *Futūh* There was to be no begging for it and it was to be spent the moment it arrived See

Fawā'id u'l Fu'ād, p 124-125, 41

Siyar u'l-Auliyā, p 560 561

[3] *Fawā'id-ul-Fu'ād*, p 200

[4] *Fawā'id-u'l-Fu'ād*, p 160

Siyar-u'l-Auliyā pp 131, 66

[5] *Fawā'id-u'l-Fu'ād*, p 136.

happened to be there was welcomed to every meal.[1] The Suhrawardī saint, no doubt, loved good food and also loved to see others enjoy it,[2] but he never kept an open table[3] Only those who were invited could take food at his table The Suhrawardī *Khānqah* had permanent stocks of grain There were granaries, coffers and treasuries in the *Khānqah* of Shaikh Bahā-u'd-dīn[4] The *Jamā'at Khānah* of Shaikh Farīd and no such provision

Shaikh Bahā-u'd-dīn never allowed the common people to visit his *Khānqah* "I have nothing to do with the generality of the public[5]," he is reported to have said On the other hand all sorts of people were welcomed at the *Jamā'at Khānah* of Bābā Farīd[6]

Shaikh Bahā-u'd-dīn was not accessible to people at all times He had fixed hours and no one could disturb him at any other time On the other hand, Shaikh Farīd was accessible to all people at all times.

Bābā Farīd lived under such straitened circumstances that he could not provide even proper food to his children who had to starve very often The position of Shaikh Bahā-u'd-dīn was entirely different He had the resources of a medieval *Iqta'dār*[7] His sons were provided with all that wealth could offer He engaged tutors and teachers for his sons, and paid them good allowances[8]

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[1] The Chishtī saint considered it a moral obligation to entertain every visitor If nothing was available in his house, he would sell his prayer-carpet or his wife's *chādir*, but would not disappoint his visitor (See *Khair-u'l-Majālis*, p 75)

See also *Siyar-u'l-Auliyā*, (pp 73-74) how Bābā Farīd grinds millet with his own hand and then cooks bread for a *durwesh*

[2] *Fawā'id u'l-Fu'ād*, p 105

[3] *Fawā'id-u'l-Fu'ād*, p 136

[4] *Fawā'id-u'l-Fu'ād* pp 223-224

[5] *Ibid*, p 130

[6] *Ibid*, p 74

[7] *Ibid*, 223

[8] *Fawā'id-u'l Fu'ād*, p 223, *Jawama' u'l-Kilam* p 59

CHAPTER XI

Last Days and Death

It was Muharram 5,664 A H (October 15, 1265) The aged saint whose health had completely broken down[1] as the result of constant fasts, vigils and penitences, lay on his bed suffering from an acute intestinal disease[2] He rose up to offer his 'Ishā prayer with the congregation at night Soon afterwards he became unconscious An atmosphere of gloom and anxiety hung over the entire *Jamā'at Khānah* and the mosque where he had been for years the centre of all religious activities All of a sudden he opened his eyes and asked "Have I offered my prayer?" "Yes", replied the attendants "Let me offer my prayer once again Who knows what is going to happen?" The saint again offered his prayer and then fell into a state of deep coma A little later he woke up again, startled and worried and put the same question to his attendants and offered his 'Ishā prayer for the third time As soon as he finished his prayer, he became unconscious again and with his lips softly uttering يا حي يا قيوم (O The Living and the Immortal) he went into eternal sleep[3] He was the last of the four great saints of the generation who died one after the other at an intervals of three years[4] Shaikh Sa'd-u'd-dīn Hamwī[5] was the first to depart for the world beyond Three

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[1] He was so weak at this time that he could not stand for his supererogatory prayers and had to offer them in the sitting posture (*Fawā'id-u'l Fu'ād* p 184) During the last Ramadān of his life the Shaikh could not observe obligatory fasts due to illness (*Fawā'id u'l-Fu'ād*, p 52)

[2] This fatal malady was *Khalah* Literally the word means any sharp, piercing thing, as a needle or awl Technically it means wind in the bowels causing acute pain See also, *Khair-u'l-Majālis*, pp 292-293

[3] *Siyar-u'l-Auliyā*, p 91

[4] *Fawā'id-u'l-Fu'ād*, p 130

Shaikh Nizām-u'd-dīn Auliyā once told his audience 'How blessed were the times when these five saints were alive—Shaikh Abu'l Ghaith Yemenī, Shaikh Saif-u'd-dīn Bākharzī Shaikh Sa'd-u'd-dīn Hamwī, Shaikh Bahā-u'd-dīn Zakariyyā and Shaikh-u'l Islām Farīd-u'd-dīn (*Fawā'id-u'l-Fu'ād*, p 221) Amīr Khurd writes

شیخ اعظم فرید ملت و دین   شیخ ابوالغیث و شیخ سیف الدین
شیخ سعدی حموی شیخ الوقت   شیخ صاحب دهی بهاء الدین
بود هر پنج پدر در یک عصر   هر یکی بادشاه دنیا و دین

[5] Muhammad bin Al-Muwayyid bin Abī Bakr bin Abī al-Hasan bin Muhammad bin Hamwī (ob 625 A H /1227 A D according to *Nafahāt-u'l-Uns* 658 A H /1259 A D according to *Tārīkh-i-Guzīdah* 649 A H /1251 A D according to *Mujmal-i Fasīhī*, 656 A H /1258 according to calculation based on *Fawā'id-u'l Fu'ād*) He was an eminent disciple of Shaikh Najm-u'd-dīn Kubra (ob 1226 A D), and had close contacts with Shaikh Muhī-u'd-dīn Ibn-i 'Arabī and Shaikh Sadr-u'd-dīn Qūnwī He was a prolific writer and some of his books, e g *Ulūm-u'l-Haqā'iq wa Hikam-u'd-Daqā'iq* (Cairo), are still held in high esteem in mystic circles His tomb is in Bahrabād For brief notices, see, *Tārīkh-i-Guzīdah* ed Browne, *Nafahāt-u'l-Uns* pp 277-278, *Majālis-u'l Ushshāq*, (published by Newal Kishore in 1314 A H) pp. 78-80, *Tārīkh-i-Tasawwuf dar-Islām*, Dr Qāsim Ghanī pp 392, 431, 496, 503, 545, 547.

years later died Shaikh Saif-u'd-dīn Bākharzī,[1] and three years after the later's expiry passed away Shaikh Bahā-u'd-dīn Zakariyyā.[2] Three years after him Bābā Farīd expired.

A few days before Shaikh Farīd's death Sayyid Muhammad Kirmānī reached Ajodhan from Dehlī. He found the ailing saint lying on a cot inside the *hujrah*, while, outside it, his sons and disciples were busy discussing the problem of his successor. Sayyid Muhammad was eager to pay his respects to the Shaikh but the Shaikh's sons prevented him from doing so with the remark: "This is not the time (to see him)." Indifferent to what they said, the Sayyid pushed open the doors of the *hujrah* and fell at the feet of the saint. The Shaikh opened his eyes and asked affectionately "How are you Sayyid? How and when did you come here?" "This very moment", replied Sayyid Muhammad. He thought of conveying the respects of Shaikh Nizām-u'd-dīn Auliyā just after this reply but the fear of being misunderstood by the Shaikh's sons dissuaded him from doing so. "If I will start with a reference to Sultān-u'l-Mashāikh (Nizām-u'd-dīn Auliyā)," he said to himself, "Shaikh e-Shuyukh-i-'Alam (i.e. Shaikh Farīd) would certainly confer his blessings on him and this thing would annoy the sons of Shaikh-i-Kabīr (i.e. Shaikh Farīd)." The Sayyid talked about other saints of Dehlī first and then casually referred to Shaikh Nizām-u'd-dīn Auliyā and conveyed his respects. On hearing Shaikh Nizām-u'd-dīn's name the Shaikh eagerly enquired "How is he? Is he happy"? Then the Shaikh entrusted to Sayyid Muhammad all the articles of mystic regalia—cloak, prayer-carpet and staff and instructed him to deliver them to Shaikh Nizām-u'd-dīn Auliyā. It was a great disappointment to the sons of the Shaikh and they furiously quarrelled with Sayyid Muhammad Kirmānī for having deprived them of the most precious thing in their father's possession.[3]

In his last moments Bābā Farīd was anxious to meet his son, Khwāja Nizām-u'd-dīn who was an officer in the army of Sultān Ghiyāth-u'd-dīn Balban and lived at Patiali, and his favourite disciple, Shaikh Nizām-u'd-dīn Auliyā. "Shaikh Nizām-u'd-dīn!" the Shaikh cried in his last moments. "But he is in Dehlī!" Shaikh Nizām-u'd-dīn had left for Dehlī in the month of Shawwāl and the saint had told him that he

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[1] Shaikh Saif-u'd-dīn (ob 658 A.H./1259 according to *Nafahat-u'l-Uns*), a native of Bakharz (between Naishāpur and Herat, *Lands of the Eastern Caliphate* p 357) was a disciple of Shaikh Najm-u'd-dīn Kubra who had sent him to Bukhāra where he propagated the mystic principles and gathered round him a large number of disciples. He was the founder of the Firdausī *Silsilah*. He lies buried in Bukhara. For brief notices, see *Tārīkh-i-Guzīdah*, p 791, *Nafahat-u'l-Uns*, p 278. *Habīb-u's-Siyar*, (Bombay 1857) p 36.

[2] Shaikh Bahā-u'd-dīn Zakariyya (ob 661 A.H./1262 A.D.) was an eminent disciple of Shaikh Shihāb-u'd-dīn Suhrawardī (ob 1234 A.D.). He laid the foundations of the Suhrawardī *Silsilah* in Multān and Upper Sind. For brief notices, *Fawā'id-ul-Fu'ād*, pp 5, 6, 10, 20 etc., *Siyar-u'l-'Arifīn* pp 103-129, *Akhbar-u'l-Akhyar*, pp 26-27.

[3] *Siyar-u'l-Auliyā* pp 121-122.

would not be present at the time of his death as he himself had not been present at the time of his master's death

Referring to his son, the Shaikh said in his last moments, "Nizām-u'd-dīn is coming, but what is the use of his coming if I am not going to meet him" Nizām-u'd-dīn saw his father in a dream at Patiali and started for Ajodhan When he reached Ajodhan it was sunset, the city gates had already been closed and he stayed in an inn outside the city walls Next morning when he entered the city he saw the funeral of his father being brought out The Shaikh's descendants had decided to bury him in a graveyard outside the city where many martyrs lay burried and where the Shaikh himself used to spend much of his time in prayers and meditation Nizām-u'd-dīn, with a worldy wisdom born of close contact with the government of the day, shrewdly dissuaded his brothers from burying the saint outside the city "If the Shaikh is burried outside the city walls," he told his brothers and relatives, "people will come there, pray at the tomb and depart Who will then take notice of the Shaikh's family " Nizām-u'd-dīn's advice was readily accepted The funeral was brought back to the Shaikh's house and he was buried at the place where his tomb stands to-day.[1]

Bābā Farid died as he had lived without worldly means There was nothing in his house with which to purchase his shroud[2] Amīr Khurd's grandmother gave a white sheet to cover his coffin[3] The door of his house was pulled down to provide unbaked bricks for his grave[4] The man whose offer of constructing a *puccā* house for the Shaikh was refused by Bābā Farīd, built a dome over his grave. This tomb was later repaired by Fīruz Shāh Tughlaq[5]

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[1] *Siyar-u'l Auliyā*, pp 89-91

[2] While giving these details to his audience Shaikh Nizām-u'd-dīn Auliyā recited the following couplet

پنبهٔ حلاج را رسم کفن داری نبود . خادم بردوش فقا ساماں داری ہم نداشت

Fawā'id-u'l-Fu'ād 212

[3] *Siyar-u'l-Auliyā*, p 89

[4] *Fawā'id-u'l-Fu'ād*, p 212

[5] *The Punjab Gazetteer* Vol II, p 5

CHAPTER XII

Descendants of Baba Farid

Shaikh Farid had five sons and three daughters Their names are given as follows in the *Siyar-u'l-Auliyā*[1]

1 Khwāja Naṣīr-u'd-dīn
2 Khwāja Shihāb-u'd-dīn
3 Shaikh Badr-u'd-dīn Sulaimān
4 Shaikh Nizām-u'd-dīn
5 Shaikh Ya'qūb
6 Bībī Mastūrah
7. Bībī Sharīfah
8 Bībī Fāṭimah

1 Khwāja Naṣīr-u'd-dīn[2]

Khwāja Naṣīr-u'd-dīn was the eldest son of Bābā Farīd The author of *Jawāhar-i-Farīdī* says that he was an adopted son of the Shaikh, but there is no justification for accepting this view 'Ali Aṣghar has mentioned some very dirty and scandalous stories about the sons of the Shaikh, simply in an attempt to prove the saint's extraordinary miraculous powers These stories deserve no credence and should be rejected as mere bazar gossip[3]

Khwāja Naṣir was a pious and devoted saint Like Shaikh Hamid-u'd-din Sawāli Nāgauri he preferred to live by cultivating the soil to depending on *Futūḥ*[4] He had one son, Shaikh Bāyazid, who was as pious and sincere in his devotions as his father Shaikh Bāyazid's son, Shaikh Kamāl-u'd-din settled in Dhar and propagated the Chishti *Silsilah* in

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[1] *Siyar-u'l-Auliya* p 186

[2] For biographical notices, see *Siyar-u'l-Auliyā*, p 186, *Gulzār-i Abrār* (MS), *Mir'āt u l-Asrār* (MS) 556 *Akhbār-u'l-Akhyār*, p 69 *Jawāhar-i-Farīdī* (MS) *Bāb* II *Faṣl* III *Ma'ārij-u'l-Walāyat*, (MS) Vol I p 269 *Maṭlūb-u t-Tālibīn* (MS) ff 99 b 100 a.

[3] For details see *Jawāhar-i-Farīdī*, *Bāb* 2 *Faṣl* III Such stories reveal the utter lack of historical sense and the spiritual impoverishment of the author He understood mysticism at a very low level and shut his eyes completely to canons of critical evaluation as propounded by the eminent Muslim scholars of the middle ages

[4] Amīr Khurd writes about him

روزگار بعبادت باری تعالی و به زراعت و حراثت که لقمهٔ حلال
است گذرانیده و خدای تعالی را در خلا و ملا طاعت کرد

Siyar-u'l-Auliyā, p 186

(He spent his life in praying God and in cultivating the soil which is a sanctioned way of acquiring livelihood He prayed God in loneliness and in company)

that region Shaikh Kamal was a favourite disciple and Khalifah of Shaikh Nizam-u'd-din Auliya [1]

2 Khwaja Shihab-u'd-din[2]

The second son of Baba Farid was named after the author of *'Awarif-u'l-Ma'arij* [3] He was an erudite scholar and even the great Shaikh admired his charming and persuasive conversations He lived in the *Jama'at Khanah* of the saint and passed his days as a mystic devoted to prayer and penitence [4] Shaikh Nizam-u'd-din Auliya's relations with him were most cordial [5] No detailed information about Shaikh Shihab is available in contemporary or semi-contemporary works 'Ali Asghar says that he had six sons Shaikh Hussam-u'd-din, Shaikh 'Abd-u'l Hamid, Shaikh Mas'ud, Shaikh Muhammad, Shaikh 'Ali Sher and Shaikh Jamshed [6] Descendants of these sons of Shaikh Shihab-u'd-din settled in Dehli, Fatehpur, Chandwar, Jaunpur, Tanda, Sirsa, Rohtasgarh, Phulwari and some other places in Bihar and Bengal

3 Shaikh Badr-u'd-din Sulaiman[7]

He was the third son of Baba Farid The Shaikh's family decided to place him on the *Sajjadah* of the saint [8] He is reported to have received *khilafat* directly from the saints of Chisht [9] It is said that there was some controversy about mystic succession in Chisht Khwaja Zoor and Khwaja Ghaur came to Dehli from Chisht in order to persuade Shaikh 'Ali Chishti, to return to his home and ascend the *sajjadah* of his deceased brother Balban had great regard for Shaikh 'Ali and threatened to abdicate if the saint left Dehli [10] The two

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[1] Shaikh Nizam-u'd-din Auliya gave a coin to him and ordered him to settle in Malwah (*Siyar-u'l-Auliya*, p 198) He became immensely popular in that region and people flocked to him from far and near Sultan Mahmud Khalji constructed a beautiful tomb over his grave and made a grant of jagir to his *Khanqah* (See *Gulzar-i-Abrar*, MS)

[2] For brief notices, see *Fawa'id-u'l-Fu'ad*, p 75, *Siyar-u'l-Auliya*, pp 186-189, *Akhbar-u'l Akhyar*, pp 69-70 *Mir'at-u'l-Asrar* (MS), pp 555-557 *Jawahar-i-Faridi* (MS), *Bab 2 Fasl* III, *Ma'arij u'l Walayat* (MS) Vol I pp 269 270, *Matlub u't-Talibin* (MS) f 100 a

[3] Shaikh Nizam u d din Auliya informs us that he was born on the day when the *'Awarif-u'l Ma'arif* was first brought before the Shaikh *Fawa'id-u'l-Fu'ad* p 75

[4] Muhammad Bulaq Chishti's statement that شیخ شہاب الدین لشکر پیشہ بود *Matlub u't Talibin* (MS) f 100 a is not supported by earlier authorities

[5] *Fawa'id-u'l-Fu'ad*, p 75 *Siyar-u'l-Auliya* p 187

[6] *Jawahar-i Faridi* (MS) *Bab 2 Fasl* III

[7] For brief notices, see *Siyar u'l-Auliya* pp 188-189 *Akhbar-u'l-Akhyar* p 70 *Mir'at-u'l-Asrar* (MS) p 557 *Jawahar-i-Faridi* (MS), *Bab 2 Fasl* III *Ma'arij-u'l-Walayat* (MS) Vol I pp 270-271 *Matlub-u't Talibin* (MS) f 100 a

[8] No contemporary or semi-contemporary authority refers to his having received *Khilafat* from his father This is an unfortunate but significant omission

[9] *Siyar-u'l Auliya*, pp 188-189

[10] *Siyar-u'l-Auliya* p 212

Ziya u'd-din Barani says that Balban had great faith in saints and divines (*Tarikh-i-Firuz Shahi* p 46) He has named some divines who were held in high esteem by the Sultan Shaikh 'Ali's name does not occur in this list

The author of *Mir'at-u'l-Asrar* (MS p 557) and *Ma'arij-u'l-Walayat* (MS Vol I p 271) have remarked that Balban was the disciple of Shaikh Ali No earlier authority corroborates this statement

emissaries passed through Ajodhan Shaikh Farīd gave them a hearty welcome, and requested them to place two caps, which were provided by the saint himself, on the heads of his sons, Shaikh Badr-u'd-dīn Sulaimān and Shaikh Nizām-u'd-dīn [1]

Shaikh Badr-u'd-dīn Sulaimān was succeeded by his son Shaikh 'Alā-u'd-dīn[2] who was only 16 when he sat on the *sajjādah* of his father For more than half a century[3] he graced the Khānqah of Shaikh Farīd and attracted people from far and near His fame had travelled upto Alexandria [4] His continuous fasts, prayers, vigils and penitences have been praised by Amīr Khusraw, Amīr Khurd, Diā-u'd-dīn Baranī and others Amīr Khusraw writes about him

علائی دنیا و دین شیخ و شیخ زادهٔ عصر — که شد بمرتبه قایم مقام شیخ فرید
رقاب نور تجلی چو کرد رویش فرق — هزار چشمهٔ خورشید از جبین بچکید
مگر که دید ثریا بلندی قدرش — که تا قیامت خواهد بر آسمان خندید
جهی بروشنی ار نه ز زادهٔ خورشیدی — زده ز رادن خورشید زاده ار که دید
چو ساکنان سپهر از حوادث ایمن گشت — کسیکه در پناه دیل عصمت تو خزید
ز بهر سبحهٔ تو چرخ مهره را انجم کرد — ز مشتری زرگ حاتش برای رشته کشید
رهی بخدمتت شب در سواد مدحت تو — چو پیر در شب قدر و چو طفل در شب عید
حیات بخش جهانی دم مسیحی تست
چه خد گفتی خسرو که عمر تو بمزید [5]

Diā-u'd-dīn Baranī calls him "an embodiment of virtue and devotions,"[6] and says that he was one of the great blessings that were vouchsafed to India in the reign of Sultān 'Alā-u'd-dīn Khaljī He fasted continuously and, with the exception of the two 'Id days and the three days of Tashrīq,[7] nobody ever saw him eating anything in the day [8] He never stepped out of his Khānqah except for Friday prayers [9] "The reputation of Shaikh 'Alā-u'd-dīn," the author of *Siyar u'l-Auliyā* informs us, "for spiritual greatness spread in the world during his lifetime and his sacred name came to be reckoned among the great saints

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[1] *Siyar u'l-Auliyā*, pp 188-189

It is said about Shaikh Badr-u'd-dīn Sulaimān that he did not shave his head (*Mahluq na kard*) like the Chishtī saints of India but grew long locks and parted them from the middle (*farq kard*) like the Shaikh of Chisht *Siyar-u'l Auliyā*, p 188

[2] For biographical notices, see *Siyar-u'l Auliyā* pp 193 196, *Tārīkh-i-Fīrūz Shāhī* Baranī p 347, *Sīrat-i-Fīrūz Shāhī* (MS) p 170, *Akhbār-u'l-Akhyār*, pp 94-95, *Ma'ārij-u'l-Walāyat* (MS) Vol I pp 273-274

[3] *Siyar u'l-Auliyā* p 193, *Akhbār-u'l-Akhyār* p 95

[4] *Rehlah*, Ibn Baṭṭuṭah, Vol II p 13

The Moorish traveller could not remember his name correctly and has confused him with his grandfather, Shaikh Farīd

[5] Cited by Shaikh 'Abd-u'l Haqq Muhaddith in *Akhbar-u'l-Akhyār* pp 94-95

[6] *Tārīkh-i-Fīrūz Shāhī*, p 347 The anonymous author of *Sīrat-i-Fīrūz Shāhī* says that he spent his whole life in *dhikr* and prayers (MS p 170)

[7] Three days after the feast of sacrifice at Mecca Fasting on the 'Id and the Tashrīq days is not permitted

[8] *Siyar-u'l-Auliyā*, p 194

[9] *Siyar-u'l-Auliyā*, p 194

Thus in Ajodhan, Dipalpur and the hills on the side of Kashmir, the people, out of their excessive love and faith, have put up buildings and constructed cenotaphs which they call his mausoleums, they accept offerings, distribute charities and complete the recitations of the *Qur'ān* "[1]

Whenever any body expressed his desire to be enrolled as his disciple, Shaikh 'Alā-u'd-dīn said "Take him to Bābā's (i e Shaikh Farīd's) grave and give him the mystic cap "[2] Sulṭān Muḥammad bin Tughlaq was so deeply impressed by his piety that he became his disciple.[3] In his days the *Jamā'at Khānah* of Shaikh Farīd became a haven of refuge for the victims of cruelty and oppression Amīr Khurd tells us that so great was the saint's awe and fear that even the Sulṭān could not touch those persons who took shelter in his *Jamā'at Khānah* [4]

One very significant anecdote about Shaikh 'Alā-u'd-dīn is mentioned in the *Siyar-u'l-Auliyā* Shaikh Rukn-u'd-dīn Multānī, a leading Suhrawardī saint of India, once visited the tomb of Bābā Farīd on his way back from Dehlī to Multān [5] As he was coming out of the tomb, he met Shaikh 'Alā-u'd-dīn and embraced him and said "God has given you such firmness that no one can move you from your place, but I am harried from place to place owing to some relatives who are attached to this world" When Shaikh Rukn-u'd-dīn left the place, Shaikh 'Alā-u'd-dīn went home, bathed and changed his clothes [6] This was reported to Shaikh Rukn-u'd-dīn who said "You do not know the status of Shaikh 'Alā-u'd-dīn It is permissible for him to behave like this The smell of this world emanates from me while he leads a life free from this contamination "[7]

Shaikh 'Alā-u'd-dīn was buried near the mausoleum of Bābā Farīd. Muḥammad bin Tughlaq built a magnificent dome over his tomb [8]

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[1] "چنانکه صیت عظمت و کرامت اوهم در حیات عزیز او میان عالم منتشر شد و اسم مبارک او میان تمامی اولیاء مذکور و مشهور گشت، چنانکه در دیار اجودهن و دیپالپور و جبالی که سمت کشمیر است خلق آن دیار از غایت محبت و اعتقاد مقامها ساخته اند و قبرها کرده و بنام روضۂ متبرکه او تیمّن و تبرک می گیرند و در آن موضع صدقات و ختمات می کنند"
Siyar-u'l Auliyā, p 193

[2] *Siyar-u'l Auliyā*, p 194

[3] *Siyar-u'l-Auliyā* p 190 *Akhbār-u'l-Akhyār*, p 95. All the three great Tughlaq Sulṭāns had faith in Shaikh 'Alā-u'd-dīn See *Tārīkh-i-Fīrūz Shāhī*, Shams-i-Siraj 'Afīf pp 27.371

[4] *Siyar-u'l-Auliyā* p 196

[5] Ibn Baṭṭūṭah writes " This Shaikh is afflicted with an apprehension of the uncleanliness of others And from this I seek the protection of God He does not shake hands with any one and does not go near any one, and as soon as his garment touches that of another he washes it " (*The Rehla of Ibn Baṭṭūṭah*, Translated by Dr A M Husain p 70 Arabic Text Vol II, p 13 Ibn Baṭṭūṭah has used the word وسواس for the Shaikh's obsession

[6] *Siyar-u'l Auliyā*, p 195

[7] *Siyar-u'l-Auliyā*, p 196

[8] *Siyar-u'l-Auliyā*, p 196 *Rehlah Ibn Baṭṭūṭah* Vol II p 13 Ibn Baṭṭūṭah calls them "learned"

Shaikh 'Alā-u'd-dīn had two sons Shaikh Mu'izz-u'd-dīn and Shaikh 'Alam-u'd-dīn[1] Shaikh Mu'izz-u'd-dīn was a pupil of Maulānā Wajīh-u'd-dīn Pā'ilī[2] He succeeded his father, but Muḥammad bin Tughlaq called him to Dehlī and later on sent him to Gujrāt, where he was martyred by the rebels[3] Shaikh 'Alam-u'd-dīn was appointed Shaikh-u'l-Islām of Hindustān by Muḥammad bin Tughlaq who held him in high esteem[4] He lies buried by the side of his father

Shaikh Mu'izz-u'd-dīn's son, Afḍāl-u'd-dīn Fuḍail, succeeded his father as his *Khalīfah* at Ajodhan He had two sons Shaikh Munawwar and Shaikh Sa'd-u d-dīn The former succeeded his father[5] Shaikh 'Alam-u'd-dīn's son Shaikh Mazhar-u'd-dīn was given the office of Shaikh-u'l-Islām after the death of his father[6]

The descendants of Shaikh Badr-u'd-dīn Sulaimān settled in different parts of the country Some continued to live in Ajodhan, others migrated to Gujrāt Some of the Farīdī families in Hyderabad trace their pedigree to Shaikh Badr-u'd-dīn Sulaimān

4 Shaikh Nizam-u'd-dīn[7]

He was the favourite son of the Shaikh[8] and, according to Shaikh Naṣīr-u'd-dīn Chirāgh-i-Dehlī, Babā Farīd desired to make him the sole inheritor of his spiritual greatness[9] The Shaikh never resented his bold and frank talk before him[10] He possessed great worldly wisdom (کیاستاً ظاهر) and was known for his bravery Amīr Khurd calls him *Haider-i-Thānī*[11] He was a soldier in the army of Sulṭān Ghiyāth-u'd-dīn Balban (664-686

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[1] *Siyar-u l Auliyā*, p 196

Maulānā Wajīh-u'd-dīn Pā'ilī was a devoted disciple of Shaikh Nizām-u'd-dīn Auliyā He was an eminent scholar of his age and few could rival him in his grasp and knowledge of the Muslim law It is said that once when he visited the tomb of Shaikh Farīd he heard a voice from the grave "Welcome Abū Ḥanīfah Pā'ilī" He lies buried in Dehlī near the Ḥauḍ i-Shamsī *Siyar-u l-Auliyā*, p 296 For brief notices See *Siyar-u'l-Auliyā*, pp 296-298 *Akhbar u l Akhyār* p 98, *Gulzār-i-Abrār* (MS)

[3] *Siyar-u'l-Auliyā*, p 196

[3] *Siyar-u'l-Auliyā*, p 196

[4] *Siyar-u'l-Auliyā*, p 197

[5] *Siyar-u l-Auliyā*, p 197

[6] *Siyar-u l-Auliyā*, p 197

[7] For biographical notices see *Siyar-u'l-Auliyā* pp 189-190, *Khair-u'l-Majālis*, p 224 *Akhbar-u'l-Akhyār*, p 70, *Mir'āt-u'l-Asrār* (MS) pp 557-558 *Jawāhar i-Farīdī* (MS) *Bab 2 Faṣl* III, *Ma'ārij-u'l-Walāyat* (MS) Vol I pp 271-272 *Maṭlūb-u t Ṭālibīn* (MS), f 100 a

[8] *Siyar-u'l-Auliyā*, pp 189-109

[9] *Khair u l Majālis*, p 224

It is said that once Shaikh Farīd was sailing in a boat with his sons and disciples Everyone except the Shaikh and his disciple, Shaikh Niẓām-u'd-dīn Auliyā was asleep All of a sudden the Shaikh called "Nizām!" Shaikh Nizām-u'd-dīn Auliyā who was awake replied "I am present" "I mean my son Nizām-u'd-dīn", replied the Shaikh After sometimes the Shaikh called "Shaikh Nizam-u'd-dīn!" "I am present", replied Shaikh Nizām u d dīn Auliyā "Come here" asked Bābā Farīd, "Mas'ūd wanted to bless his son Niẓām God wants to bless thee"

[10] *Siyar-u l-Auliyā*, pp 189-190

[11] *Siyar-u'l-Auliyā*, p 190

A H /1266-1287 A D) and fell fighting against the Mongols in Ajodhan [1] His body could not be discovered among the slain [2] He had a son, Khwāja Ibrāhim, who had married an aunt of Amir Khurd His son, Khwāja 'Aziz-u'd-din was educated by Shaikh Nizām-u'd-din Auliyā and lived with him in his *Jamā'at Khānah* Before the sons of Shaikh Badr-u'd-din Ishāq, Muhammad Imām and Khwāja Musa, reached the *Jamā'at Khānah* of Shaikh Nizām-u'd-din Auliyā, it was the duty of 'Aziz-u'd-din to recite sacred verses before meals The Shaikh nodded his head and said "Blessings! Blessings!" He was buried at the foot of Shaikh Nizām-u'd-din Auliyā's grave. Amir Khurd also refers to a sister of his and her family [3]

5 Shaikh Ya'qūb[4]

He was the youngest son of Bābā Farid He had studied the *Qur'ān* with Maulānā Badr-u'd-din Ishāq He possessed intuitive intelligence (*nafs-i-girā*) and was highly cultured and self-sacrificing He had adopted the manners of the *malāmati*[5] mystics and lived in obscurity The author of *Siyar-u'l-Auliyā* says that he disappeared near Amroha [6]

Shaikh Ya'qūb had two sons—Khwāja 'Aziz-u'd-din and Khwāja Qādi Both of them were educated by Shaikh Nizām-u'd-din Auliyā Shaikh Nizām-u'd-din Auliyā sent Khwāja 'Aziz-u'd-din to Deogir,[7] where he settled long before Sultān Muhammad bin Tughlaq's Deccan experiment Years afterwards when Amir Khurd reached Deogir in the wake of Sultān Muhammad bin Tughlaq, he was very much impressed by the

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[1] *Siyar u l-Auliyā*, p 190 But the author of *Mir āt-u'l-Asrār* says that there were two opinions about the death of Shaikh Nizām-u'd-din Some said that he fell while fighting against the Mongols who had attacked Ajodhan others said that he was in the army of Sultān 'Alā-u'd-din Khalji and died in the Ranthambhor Campaign (MS p 558) See also *Ma āri u'l-Walāyat* (MS) Vol I p 271

[2] This is Amir Khurd s statment (*Siyar u'l-Auliya* p 190) Maulānā 'Abd-u'r-Rahmān Chishti (*Mir at-u l-Asrār* MS p 558) and Ghulām Mu'in-u'd-din (*Ma'āri-u'l-Walāyat* MS, Vol I p 271) however say that he was buried in Ranthambhor and that his grave was visited by people

[3] *Siyar-u l Auliyā*, p 199

[4] For brief biographical notices, see *Siyar-u'l-Auliyā*, pp 190-191, *Akhbār-u'l-Akhyar*, p 70 *Mir'āt-u l Asrar* (MS), p 558, *Ma'āri-u'l-Walāyat* (MS) Vol I pp 272-273

[5] The *malāmatis* believe that the true worship of God is best proved by the contempt in which the devotee is held by his fellow men On the basis of this argument they justify not only the total neglect of the religious injunctions of Islām, but commit the most outrageous sins in order to create contempt for themselves in the hearts of the people

[6] *Siyar u l Auliyā*, p 191

Mir'āt-u'l Asrār, (MS) p 558

[7] *Siyar-u l-Auliyā* p 198

Shaikh Nizām-u'd-din Auliyā ordered Shaikh Kamāl-u'd-din (see *Supra*) to proceed to Mawlah and Khwāja 'Aziz-u'd-din to proceed to Deogir and put one *Jalālī* (Gold Coin) each in their hands "What purpose will this one *Jalālī* serve ?" Aziz-u d din asked his friend "The Shaikh has given us *Jalālī* (dignity)," replied Kamāl-u'd-din, ' Keep your mind at rest "

spiritual greatness and prestige of Shaikh 'Azīz-u'd-dīn [1] He was martyred in Deogīr [2] Khwāja Qādī lies buried on the *Chabūtrah-i-Yāran* [3]

6. Bībī Mastūrah[4]

She was devoted to prayers and penitence She left two sons Khwāja 'Azīz-u'd-dīn Ṣūfī and Khwāja Kabīr-u'd-dīn Both of them passed their lives in the *Jamā'at Khānah* of Shaikh Nizām-u'd-dīn Auliyā who had very great love and affection for them [5] Khwāja 'Azīz u'd-dīn was a pupil of Qādī Muḥī-u'd-dīn Kāshānī [6] He was an excellent calligraphist [7] He recorded the conversations of Shaikh Nizām-u'd-dīn Auliyā under the title *Tuhfat-u'l-Abrār-fi-Karāmat-u'l-Akhyār* [8] The text of this *malfūz* was revised by the Shaikh himself His son Quṭb-u'd-dīn Hasan received a *Khilāfat Nāmah* from Shaikh Naṣīr-u'd-dīn Chirāgh-i-Dehlī and propagated the Chishtī mystic principles [9] Shaikh Kabīr-u'd-dīn was, like his brother, devoted to prayers and penitence Shaikh Nizām-u'd-dīn Auliyā had a very high opinion about him [10]

7 Bībī Sharīfah[11]

She became a widow in her early youth and did not marry again She was intensely religious-minded and Bābā Farīd used to say "Had it been permitted to give the *Khilāfat Nāmah* of the Shaikh and his *Sajjādah* to a woman, I would have given them to Bībī Sharīfah [12]" The Shaikh is also reported to have said with regard to her

ولو كان النساء كمثل هذا لفضلت النساء على الرجال [13]

(If other women had been like her, women would have taken precedence over men)

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[1] *Siyar u'l-Auliyā*, p 197

[2] *Siyar-u'l-Auliyā*, p 197

[3] *Siyar-u'l-Auliyā*, p 97

[4] For biographical notices, see *Siyar-u'l Auliyā*, p 191, *Mir'āt-u'l Asrār* (MS) p 558, *Jawāhir-i-Farīdī* (MS)

[5] Shaikh Nizām-u'd-dīn Auliyā was once displeased with Maulānā Wajīh-u'd-dīn Pā'ilī for having occupied in his *majlis* a place higher than that of Khwāja 'Azīz u'd-dīn, 'descendant of my master' *Siyar-u'l-Auliyā* p 202 See also *Akhbār-u'l Akhyār*, p 95

[6] Qādī Muḥī-u'd dīn Kāshānī was an eminent disciple and *Khalīfah* of Shaikh Nizām-u'd-dīn Auliyā He was distinguished for his erudition and learning For biographical notices see *Siyar-u'l-Auliyā* pp 294 205, *Khair u'l-Majālis*, pp 150-151, 202 3

[7] *Siyar-u'l-Auliyā*, p 202, *Akhbār-u'l Akhyār*, p 95

[8] This *malfūz* is extinct now

[9] *Siyar-u'l-Auliyā*, p 203

[10] *Siyar-u'l-Auliyā* p 203 (Addenda)

[11] For brief biographical notices, see *Siyar-u'l-Auliyā*, p 191 *Mir'āt-u'l-Asrār*, pp 558-9, *Gulzār-i-Abrār* (MS), *Jawāhir-i Farīdī* (MS)

[12] *Siyar-u'l Auliyā*, p 191.

[13] *Siyar-u'l-Auliyā*, p 191

8. **Bibi Fatimah**

She was married to Shaikh Badr-u'd-din Ishaq, a devoted disciple of Shaikh Farid. She had two sons Khwaja Muhammad Imam and Khwaja Musa When Maulana Ishaq died and the family was left destitute without anyone to look after it, Shaikh Nizam-u'd-din Auliya sent Sayyid Muhammad Kirmani to Ajodhan to request Bibi Fatimah to come to Dehli and settle there It was not long after Bibi Fatimah's arrival in Dehli that rumours began to circulate that Shaikh Nizam-u'd-din Auliya wanted to marry her When Shaikh Nizam-u'd-din heard about this he was deeply shocked He left for Ajodhan in distress and when he came back to Dehli, Bibi Fatimah was already dead [1]

Khwaja Muhammad Imam and Khwaja Musa were educated under the fostering care of Shaikh Nizam-u-d-din Auliya The former also received a *Khilafat Namah* from Shaikh Nizam-u'd-din Auliya He used to admit disciples during the lifetime of the saint [2]

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[1] *Siyar-u'l-Auliya*, pp 192-193

[2] For Khwaja Imam and Khwaja Musa, see *Siyar-u'l-Auliya*, pp 199-202

CHAPTER XIII

Spiritual Successors of Baba Farid

The author of *Siyar-u'l-Aqṭāb* says that Bābā Farīd had a very large number of *Khalīfahs* [1] Amīr Khurd, however, refers only to the following successors of the great saint

1 Shaikh Najīb-u'd-dīn Mutawakkil

2 Maulānā Badr-u'd-dīn Isḥāq

3 Shaikh Jamāl u'd-dīn Hānswī

4 Shaikh Niẓām u'd-dīn Auliyā

5 Shaikh 'Ārif

6 Shaikh 'Alī Ṣābir

7 Maulānā Fakhr-u'd-dīn Ṣafāhānī [2]

Later writers have added several other names to this list Shaikh Allah Diyah and Maulānā Mu'īn-u'd-dīn 'Abd-u'llah have referred to Shaikh Shams-u'd-dīn Turk Pānīpatī,[3] Shaikh Wahārū,[4] Shaikh Zain-u'd-dīn Damishqī,[5] Shaikh 'Alī Shakar Raiz, Shaikh 'Alī Shakar Bār, Shaikh Muḥammad Sirāj, Shaikh Jamāl Kāmil,[6] Maulānā Dā'ūd Pālahī,[7] Muham-

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[1] *Siyar-u'l-Aqṭāb* p 175 Mu'īn-u'd dīn 'Abd-u'llah (*Ma'ārij-u'l Wilāyat* MS Vol I p 207) makes very curious statements in connection with the Khalīfahs of Shaikh Farīd He says that Shaikh Farīd had 10 000 Khalīfahs on earth 18 000 in the sea 400 in the air 400 on the sky and 400 on the *Kuh-i Qaf* The whole account is saturated with superstition and is incredible for our purposes

[2] *Siyar-u'l-Auliyā* pp 167-185

Shaikh Fakhr u'd dīn Ṣafāhānī is casually mentioned in *Siyar u'l-Auliyā* (p 345) No detailed account of the saint is available He settled at Bilgrām Another Khalīfah of the Shaikh was Shaikh Wahīd Sayyid Muḥammad Gēsū Darāz refers to him as a successor of Bābā Farīd (*Jawāma' u'l-Kalam* p 341), but detailed account of this saint also is not available

[3] He was the principal Khalīfah of Shaikh Ala u'd-dīn 'Alī Aḥmad Ṣābir of Kalyar Allah Diyah says that he had received the robe of *Khilāfat* from Bābā Farīd also but his statement is not confirmed by earlier authorities For brief biographical notices, see, *Siyar-u'l-Aqṭāb* pp 184-197 *Mir'āt-u'l-Asrār* (MS), pp 600-703

[4] *Siyar-u'l Aqṭāb*, p 177 Our earlier authorities do not refer to him at all

[5] *Siyar-u'l-Aqṭāb* p 177 Mu'īn-u'd dīn 'Abd-u'llah says that Shaikh Zain-u'd-dīn was a descendant of Shaikh Farīd (*Ma'ārij u'l Wilāyat* (MS) Vol I p 283

[6] No book except *Siyar-u'l-Aqṭāb* has referred to Shaikh 'Alī Shakar Raiz, Shaikh Alī Shakar Bār, Shaikh Muḥammad Sirāj and Shaikh Jamāl Kāmil Mu'īn u'd dīn 'Abd-u'llah says that probably Shaikh 'Alī Ṣābir and Shaikh Alī Lāhiqq became known as Shaikh 'Alī Shakar Raiz and Shaikh Alī Shakar Bār *Ma'ārij u'l-Wilāyat*, Vol I p 267

[7] Maulānā Dā'ūd Pālahī was an eminent disciple not *Khalīfah*, of Shaikh Farīd His piety and devotion has been praised in several *tadhkirahs* and mystic works See, *Khair u'l-Majālis* pp 118-119, *Akhbār-u'l-Akhyār* p 70, *Gulzār-i-Abrār* (MS), *Ma'ārij-u'l-Wilāyat* (MS), Vol I, p 259

mad Shāh Ghurī,[1] Maulānā Muhammad Multānī,[2] Maulānā 'Alī Bihārī,[3] Muhammad Naishāpurī,[4] Maulānā Hamid-u'dīn,[5] Shaikh Yūsuf,[6] Shaikh Muntajab-u'd-dīn,[7] Shaikh 'Alī Lāhiqq[8] and Maulānā Taqi-u'd-dīn[9] as *Khalīfahs* of the great saint It is difficult to attach any value to this list, given by later writers, because it is not corroborated by any earlier authority

An account of some of his leading *Khalīfahs* is given below

1 *Shaikh Jamāl-u'd-dīn Hānswī*[10]

He was the oldest disciple of Bābā Farīd As noted earlier the Shaikh used to advise every disciple whom he granted his *Khilāfat Nāmah* to get the document endorsed by him Amīr Khurd has mentioned the story of a saint who somehow secured a *Khilāfat Nāmah* from Bābā Farīd, but, when he approached Shaikh Jamāl for endorsement, he refused to

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[1] Both the *Fawā'id-u'l Fu'ād* (p 64) and the *Siyar u'l-Auliyā* (p 85) refer to him as a very sincere and devoted disciple of Shaikh Farīd However, the Shaikh did not appoint him his *Khalīfah*

[2] His name is mentioned in the *Fawā'id u'l Fu'ād* (p 55) as a casual visitor to the *Jamā'at Khānah* of Shaikh Farīd No contemporary or even semi-contemporary authority supports Mu'īn-u'd-dīn Abd-ullah's statement that he was a Khalīfah of the great saint *Ma'ārij u'l-Wilāyat*, Vol I p 257

[3] There is a casual reference to him in the *Fawā'id u'l Fu'ād* (pp 52 59) I do not know on what authority has Mu'īn u'd dīn Abd u'llah (*Ma'ārij-u'l Wilāyat* Vol I, p 257) included him among the *Khalīfahs* of the great saint The fact that he was one of those three dear disciples of the Shaikh whom he had sent to a graveyard to pray for his health is not enough to prove that he had received *Khilafat* also

[4] He is referred to in earlier authorities as a disciple of Shaikh Farīd (*Fawā'id-u'l-Fu'ād* p 70) There is no evidence to prove that he received *Khilāfat* from the Shaikh

[5] See Supra p 47 He had, it seems, received *Khilāfat* from Shaikh Farīd who had asked him also to settle in a village The Shaikh told him

"تو دراں دیہ برو، ساکن شو کہ تو ایں زماں مثل ستارہ شدی کہ ستارہ

Fawā'id-u'l Fu'ād p 205 در مقابل مہتاب نور ندہد، تو دراں دیہ برو ساکن شو"

[6] The *Fawā'id-u'l Fu'ād* (pp 31-32) definitely informs us that the Shaikh had not assigned any spiritual work to him

[7] He may, with some justification be considered a *Khalīfah* of Shaikh Farīd though no earlier authority has explicitly mentioned this fact Amīr Khurd says that when Bābā Farīd gave his *Khilāfat Nāmah* to Shaikh Nizām-u'd-dīn Auliyā he instructed him to show it to Shaikh Jamāl-u'd-dīn in Hānsī and to Qādī Muntajab in Dehlī (*Siyar-u'l-Auliyā*, p 116) It means that Shaikh Muntajab was one of those senior *Khalīfahs* in whom the Shaikh had great confidence Mu'īn-u'd dīn 'Abd-u'llah says that he was the elder brother of Maulānā Burhān-u'd-dīn Gharīb and had settled in Deogīr at the order of his spiritual master (*Ma'ārij-u'l-Wilāyat*, Vol I, pp 261-262) Maulānā Ghulām 'Alī Āzād Bilgrāmī has based his account of Maulānā Muntajab-u'd-dīn on the *Ma'ārij-u'l Wilāyat* See his *Raudah-i-Auliyā* pp 14-16

[8] The *Ma'ārij-u'l-Wilāyat* (Vol I, pp 266-267) contains a confused account of Shaikh 'Alī Lāhiqq This account has been copied by later writers See, *Khazīnat-u'l-Asfiyā* Vol I p 314

[9] Mu'īn-u'd dīn 'Abd-u'llah says that he was a brother of Maulānā Dā'ūd Pālahī, *Ma'ārij-u'l-Wilāyat* Vol I, p 268

[10] For brief biographical notices, see *Fawā'id u'l-Fu'ād* pp 42, 54 etc *Siyar-u'l-Auliyā*, pp 178-184, *Jawāma'-u'l-Kilam*, p 233 *Akhbār-u'l-Akhyār*, pp 67-68, *Gulzār-i-Abrār* (MS), *Mir'āt u'l-Asrār* (MS) pp 585-587 *Jawāhir-i-Farīdī* (MS) *Ma'ārij-u'l-Wilāyat* (MS) Vol I, pp 250-252 The stories mentioned about him in the *Siyar-u'l-Aqtāb* (P 170) deserve no credence

sign it and tore it to pieces Bitterly offended at this act of Shaikh Jamāl he came to Bābā Farīd who refused to do anything in the matter. "I cannot put together what Jamāl has torn to pieces," replied Bābā Farīd [1]

Bābā Farīd had great love and affection for Shaikh Jamāl It is said that his stay in Hānsī for twelve years was out of love for him [2] He used to say "Jamāl is our *jamāl* (beauty) [3]" Shaikh Bahā-u'd-dīn Zakariyyā is reported to have offered to exchange all his disciples for him Bābā Farīd replied that any such transaction was possible regarding *māl* (property) but not in case of *jamāl* (beauty) [4]

When Shaikh Jamāl-u'd-dīn joined the discipline of Bābā Farīd, he was the *Khatīb* of Hānsī As noticed earlier, Bābā Farīd demanded from his higher disciples complete severance of all ties with the government of the day and as the post of the *Khatīb* was maintained by the state, Shaikh Jamāl had to give it up Once, while on his way to Ajodhan, Shaikh Nizām-u d dīn Auliyā stayed with Shaikh Jamāl at Hānsī Shaikh Jamāl requested him to inform Shaikh Farīd about his miserable circumstances and abject poverty When Shaikh Nizām-u'd-dīn Auliyā conveyed this message, Shaikh Farīd remarked

" اورا بگوی چون ولایت بکسی دادہ شود اورا واجب است احتمالت [5] "

(Tell him that when a *Wilāyat*– spiritual territory is assigned to anyone, it is his duty to bear its burden)

Shaikh Jamāl-u'd-dīn visited Ajodhan seven times to see his master [6] When indifferent health prevented him from undertaking long journeys, he sent his maid-servant as messenger "How is my Jamāl?" Bābā Farīd once asked her "From the time the Khwāja has become a disciple of yours,' she replied, 'He has given up his village property and the office of *Khatīb* He is afflicted with starvation and sufferings" Bābā Farīd was pleased at this information "God be praised," he said, "(Jamāl) is happy [7]'

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[1] *Siyar-u l Auliyā*, p 179 پارہ کردۂ جمال را ما توانیم دوخت

Later writers have woven strange legends round this incident Some say that the famous saint of Kalyar (in Sahāranpur district) was the person whose *Khilāfat Nāmah* was torn by Shaikh Jamāl Anti-Jamāl feelings have long been a feature of the Sābiri branch of the Chishti order and considerable literature has been produced on that topic Now that controversy has almost died out

[2] & [3] *Siyar-u l Auliyā* p 178

[4] *Gulzār-i-Abrar*, MS

[5] *Siyar-u'l-Auliyā*, p 180

Shaikh Nasīr-u d dīn Chiragh-i Dehlī has explained that احتمالت meant 'turning the heart towards Allah from all other things'

(توجه القلب الی الله من کل الوجوہ)

[6] *Fawāid u'l-Fu'ād*, p 42

[7] *Siyar-u'l-Auliyā*, pp 180 181

Shaikh Jamāl was a man of great learning His two works—a Persian *Diwān*,[1] and an Arabic treatise-*Mulhamāt*[2]—have survived.

Shaikh Jamāl died during the lifetime of his master His maid-servant, who was known as Umm-u'l-Muminin, took Shaikh Jamāl's son,[3] Maulānā Burhān-u'd-dīn, to the great Shaikh Maulānā Burhān was a young lad at that time, but the Shaikh granted him his *Khilāfat-Nāmah*[4] and asked him to benefit from the company of Shaikh Nizām-u'd-dīn at Dehlī The maid-servant was surprised at the Shaikh's generosity in conferring the *Khilāfat* on a boy of tender age She submitted "*Khwāja Burhān-u'd-dīn bālā hai*" (Khwāja Burhān-u'd-dīn is a (mere) child) Shaikh Farid replied '*Ponum kā chānd bhi bālā hautā hai*" (The crescent is also small) [5]

Shaikh Burhān-u'd-dīn lived for some time with Shaikh Nizām-u'd-dīn Auliyā but he did not enrol any disciples "It is not meet for me," he used to say, "to enrol anyone as my disciple when Hadrat Nizām-u'd-dīn Muhammad is there [6]" Shaikh Qutb-u'd-dīn Munawwar,[7] a distinguished disciple and Khalīfah of Shaikh Nizām-u'd-dīn Auliyā, was his son

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[1] This *diwān* is in two volumes One volume contains *ghazals* the other contains *rubā'is* and *qit'ahs* (Printed by Pirji Rafi u d-din, Tehsildar Dehlī, in 1889 in the *Chashmah-i-Faid Press* Dehlī) A MS of this *Diwān* is preserved in the Library of the University of Uppsala (Bibliotheca Nov 300) See *Islāmic Research Association Miscellany*, Vol I, 1948 pp 167-174

[2] *Mulhamat* was published in 1306 A H from Alwar (Yusufi Press) It is full of Sufistic aphorism sublime in ideas and sweet in expression See also *Contribution of India to Arabic Literature*, pp 82-85

[3] Shaikh Jamāl had two sons The elder one was a *majdhūb* but sometimes he recovered consciousness and spoke very wisely Once he told Shaikh Nizām-u d-dīn Auliyā 'Knowledge is a great veil ' When asked to explain what he meant he said 'Knowledge is distinct from the truth and whatever is distinct from the truth is a veil " *Siyar u l-Auliyā* p 134

For a detailed account of the descendants of Shaikh Jamāl-u d dīn see *Sirāj-u n-Nasab* by Muhammad Sirāj-u l-Haqq (Published in 1313 A H Printed at Diā-u l-Islām Press, Qādiyan)

[4] Shaikh Farid also bestowed upon him the prayer carpet and the staff which Shaikh Jamāl had left and remarked 'You have the same authority from me as your father had *Siyar-u'l-Auliyā* p 182 183

[5] *Siyar-u l Auliyā* p 183

[6] He had very great respect for Shaikh Nizām u'd-dīn Auliyā Every time that he visited Dehlī Shaikh Nizām u'd dīn ordered a cot to be placed for him in his *Jamā'at Khānah* but Shaikh Burhān-u d-dīn, out of respect for the Shaikh, never slept on it It is said that whenever he went to see the Shaikh he changed his clothes and perfumed himself *Siyar-u l-Auliyā*, pp 183-84

[7] He was one of those three great saints of Muhammad bin Tughlaq's reign—Shaikh Nasir-u'd-dīn Chirāgh and Shaikh Shams-u'd-dīn Yahyā being the other two—who kept alive the traditions of the Chishtī *silsilah* at a very critical moment in its history and refused to subordinate themselves to the dictates of the Sultān For biographical details, see *Siyar-u l-Auliyā*, pp 247-253 *Tārīkh-i-Firūz Shāhī* Afīf, p 423 424 *Akhbār-u l-Akhyār* pp 87 88 *Mir'āt-u l-Asrār*, MS pp 641-643, *Gulzār-i-Abrār* MS, *Ma'ārij-u l-Wilāyat* MS Vol pp 298-303, *Matlūb-u't-Tālibīn*, MS f 119 a

2 *Shaikh Najīb-u'd-dīn Mutawakkil*[1]

He was the youngest brother of Shaikh Farīd[2] He had come to Dehlī to complete his education but decided to settle there permanently. He passed his days in abject poverty "For seventy years," Shaikh Nizām-u'd-dīn Auliyā once informed his audience, "Shaikh Najīb u'd-dīn lived in the city He had neither property nor pension He lived resigned to the will of God along with his family and passed his days happily. I have not seen anyone like him in the city[3]" He had a small house consisting of a small room in which he lived with his wife and two sons. There was a broken *chappar* (thatched roof) over this room and there he used to meet his visitors[4] Once, some *qalandars* came to see and greet him on an 'Id day Shaikh Najīb-u'd-dīn had nothing in his house to entertain them He thought of selling something in order to buy food for them He looked at his wife's *dāman*, it was torn and patched and could fetch no price He glanced at his prayer-carpet, it was no better When all attempts to provide something for the visitors failed, Shaikh Najīb offered cold water to them[5] A pious and saintly lady of Dehlī, Bībī Fāṭimah,[6] very often helped the starving family of Shaikh Najīb[7]

Shaikh Farīd had granted his *Khilāfat* to him, but we have no record of his disciples He paid nineteen visits to Ajodhan to meet his brother[8] When he was leaving Shaikh Farīd after his nineteenth visit, the saint did not recite the *Fātihah* to pray that his younger brother may come to see him again as was his custom on former occasions Shaikh Najīb never saw his brother again and died a few months before Shaikh Farīd departed for the world beyond He was buried outside the city near the *Darwāzah-i-Mandah*[9] Two references to him in the *Fawā'id-u'l-Fu'ād* show that he was a man of scholarly tastes[10]

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[1] For brief biographical notices see *Fawā'id-u'l-Fu'ād* pp 14-15, 28, 78 79, *Khair-u'l-Majālis*, pp 75-70, *Siyar-u'l Auliyā*, pp 167 169 *Siyar-u'l 'Ārifīn*, pp 97-101 *Akhbār-u'l-Akhyār* pp 59 60 *Gulzār-i Abrār* (MS) *Mir'āt-u'l-Asrār*, MS *Ma'ārij-u'l-Wilāyat* (MS)

[2] The names of Shaikh Farīd's brothers are given by Maulānā Jamālī (*Siyar-u'l 'Ārifīn* p 32) His eldest brother Izz-u'd-dīn died at Kahtwāl (*Siyar-u'l-'Ārifīn* p 32) Amīr Khurd says that Shaikh Najīb-u'd dīn Mutawakkil had a brother in Badā'ūn (*Siyar-u'l Auliyā* p 167)

[3] *Siyar-u'l-Auliyā*, p 167

[4] *Khair u'l Majālis* p 75

[5] *Khair-u'l-Majālis* p 75 See also, *Fawā'id-u'l Fu'ād* pp 136 137 for the practice of Shaikh Badr u'd-dīn Ghaznawī

[6] *Akhbar-u'l-Akhyār*, pp 280-287, *Siyar-u'l-'Ārifīn* pp 101-102

[7] *Fawā'id-u'l-Fu'ād*, p 245

[8] *Fawā'id-u'l-Fu'ād*, p 42

[9] *Siyar-u'l-Auliyā*, p 169

[10] *Fawā'id-u'l-Fu'ād*, pp 28, 26

3. *Maulānā Badr-u'd-dīn Isḥāq*[1]

He was an eminent scholar of Dehlī The circumstances under which he became a disciple of Shaikh Farīd have been discussed in Chapter XV The Shaikh had assigned to him the duties of his personal service He was also in charge of the general supervision of the *Jamā'at Khānah* and used to write *ta'wīz* (amulet) on behalf of the Shaikh Besides, it was his duty to draft certificates of *Khilāfat*

Shaikh Badr-u'd-dīn did not enrol any disciple during the life-time of his Shaikh, except Malik Sharf-u'd-dīn Kubra, Muqṭa' of Dīpalpūr, about whom the Shaikh had explicity ordered him to admit into his discipline [2]

Shaikh Isḥāq wrote a scholarly book on Arabic grammar-*Taṣrīf-i-Badarī* [3] Shaikh Nizām-u'd dīn Auliyā had an autographed copy of this book It is extinct now

Shaikh Farīd had married his daughter Bībī Fāṭimah to him. After the Shaikh's death his relations with Shaikh Badr-u'd-dīn Sulaimān became unpleasant and, at the suggestion of Sayyid Maḥmūd Kirmānī, he shifted to the Juma' Masjid of Ajodhan and began teaching the *Qur'ān* to small boys His devotion to his master was so deep that he did not long survive him Shaikh Nizām-u'd-dīn Auliyā, who had very great respect for him and was much indebted to him, called his family to Dehlī and took keen personal interest in the training and education of his sons [4]

4 *Shaikh Nizām-u'd-din Auliyā*[5]

He was the most outstanding disciple and *Khalīfah* of Shaikh Farīd For about half a century he lived and worked in Dehlī All sorts of men, says Baranī, visited him and found spiritual solace in his company [6] Under him the Chishtī *Silsilah* reached its highest watermark and his disciples set up Chishtī mystic centres in practically every important part of the country [7] Almost all the descendants of the disciples of Shaikh Farīd as well as Shaikh Farīd's own descendants accepted him as their spiritual leader [8]

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[1] For brief biographical notices see *Fawā'id-u'l-Fu'ād* pp 59, 74 etc , *Siyar u'l-Auliyā* pp 162 178 , *Khair-u'l-Majālis*, pp 116 130 137 224 , *Siyar-u l-'Ārifīn* pp 42 84 etc *Akhbār-u l Akhyār*, pp 60-67 , *Mir'āt-u'l Asrār* MS pp 58--584 , *Ma'ārij-u l-Wilāyat*, Vol I pp 252-255

[2] *Siyar-u'l-Auliyā*, p 175

[3] *Siyar-u'l-Auliyā*, p 173

[4] *Siyar-u l-Auliyā* pp 171-172

[5] For his life and teachings, see *Fawā id-u'l-Fu'ād*, *Siyar-u l-Auliyā*, *Khair-u'l-Majālis*, *Jawāmi u l-Kilam* and *Durar-i-Nizāmiyah* (MS) See also, *Siyar-u'l-'Ārifīn*, pp 59-91 *Akhbār-u l-Akhyār* pp 54-59 , *Mir āt-u'l-Asrār* (MS), pp 561-581 *Ma ārij-u'l-Wilāyat*, (MS) Vol I pp 88-120 , *Gulzār-i-Abrār* MS , *Maṭlūb-u't-Ṭālibīn* MS , *Ā'īn-i-Akbarī*, ii pp 208-209 , *Tārīkh-i-Firishtah*, Vol II, pp. 391-398 , *Shajarat-u l-Anwār* (MS) , *Iqtibās-u'l-Anwār* (MS) ff 182a-186b *Nafaḥāt-u'l-Uns*, pp 452-453

[6] *Tārīkh-i-Fīrūz Shāhī* p 363

[7] *Ā'īn-i-Akbarī*, II, p 208

[8] e g Shaikh Quṭb-u'd-dīn Munawwar, Shaikh Kabīr-u'd-dīn, Khwāja 'Azīz-u d-dīn, Khwāja Muḥammad, Shaikh Kamāl-u'd-dīn

Shaikh Nizām-u d-dīn Auliyā developed faith in Shaikh Farīd at a very tender age One day he was reading a *na't* (short poem written in praise of the Prophet) in a school (*maktab*) at Badā'ūn that a *qawwāl* (musician), Abū Bakr by name, who had visited Multān and Ajodhan, came to his teacher and began to narrate some interesting experiences of his journey in the Punjāb Abū Bakr started with an account of the *Khānqah* of Shaikh Bahā-u'd-dīn Zakariyyā and said that even the slave girls of the Shaikh were all time busy in religious meditation and, while grinding corn, they recited the names of Allah These stories, however did not touch Shaikh Nizām-u'd-dīn's heart, but when the *qawwāl* praised the piety of Shaikh Farīd his soul was moved [1] He developed sudden and intense love for Shaikh Farīd and began to repeat his name after every prayer. He never went to bed unless he had thought of him [2] His friends came to know of this and whenever an occassion arose they asked him to swear by Shaikh Farīd Four years passed like this At the age of sixteen he started for Dehlī to complete his education at the feet of the eminent scholars of the capital An old man, 'Awad, accompanied him 'Awad was a staunch believer in the spiritual greatness of Shaikh Farīd Whenever he saw the slightest danger of being molested by robbers or by wild beasts, he cried out impatiently "O *pīr* ! Rush up" "Oh *pīr* ! We are proceeding under your protection" Shaikh Nizām-u'd-dīn did not know who the saint was whom he was so imploring When he inquired, 'Awad respectfully mentioned the name of Shaikh Farīd [3] The great saint of Ajodhan was already 'his vision in the night and his dreaming in the day' 'Awad's reference to him supplied fuel to the burning emotions of Shaikh Nizām-u'd-dīn

It was a strange coincidence that on reaching Dehlī he alighted in an inn which was in the neighbourhood of Shaikh Najīb-u'd-dīn Mutawakkil,[4] brother of Shaikh Farīd Shaikh Nizām-u'd-dīn became a frequent visitor to Shaikh Najīb's house and developed close friendship with him

Shaikh Nizām u'd-dīn pursued his studies diligently and very soon earned a position of distinction in the academic circles of Dehlī One day he went to Shaikh Najīb-u'd-dīn Mutawakkil and requested him to pray to God for his appointment as Qādī Shaikh Najīb-u'd-dīn, who saw marks of spiritual greatness on the forehead of this young scholar, very significantly remarked "God forbid that you be that (Qādī)[5]"

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[1] *Fawā'id-u'l-Fu'ād* p 149
Siyar-u'l Auliyā, p 100
[2] *Fawā'id-u'l-Fu'ād*, p, 149
Siyar-u'l-Auliyā, p 100
[3] *Fawā'id-u'l-Fu'ād*, p 140
Siyar-u'l-Auliyā p 100
[4] *Fawā'id-u'l-Fu'ād*, p 149
Siyar-u'l-Auliyā, p 100
[5] *Fawā'id-u'l-Fu'ād*, p 28

Shaikh Nizām-u'd-dīn's love for Shaikh Farīd increased infinitely in the company of Shaikh Najīb One day he started for Ajodhan without making any provision for the journey[1] He met the great Shaikh on a Wednesday in 655 A H[2]/1257 A D The Shaikh discerned in him a true successor to him, to Khwāja Quṭb-u'd-dīn Bakhtiyār Kākī and, in fact, to all the great Chishtī mystics of the past. He welcomed him with the couplet

ای آتش فراقت دلها کباب کرده
سیلاب اشتیاقت جانها خراب کرده

Shaikh Nizām-u'd-dīn whose heart was overflowing with emotions unsuccessfully tried to summon up courage to tell in detail how eager he himself was to see him, but the awe of the Shaikh made him tremble It was with great difficulty that he could utter this single sentence

اشتیاق پابوس عظیم غالب بوده است

((I) had strong desire to meet you)

"Every new comer is nervous,[3]" remarked Shaikh Farīd and soothed his nerves That very day Shaikh Nizām-u'd dīn was admitted into the discipleship of Shaikh Farīd and his head was shaved

All the disciples of the great Shaikh who lived in the *Jamā'at Khānah* used to sleep on the ground, but the Shaikh honoured his young disciple from Dehlī by ordering Shaikh Badr-u'd-dīn Isḥāq to provide a cot for him Shaikh Nizām u'd-dīn had great hesitation in sleeping on it because many *ḥuffāz* and scholars were sleeping on the ground but Shaikh Badr-u'd-dīn told him that obeying the Shaikh's order was higher than every other consideration[4]

After his initiation Shaikh Nizām-u'd-dīn submitted to his master "Should I give up my studies and devote exclusively to supererogatory prayers, *aurād* and *wazā'if*?" "I never ask any one to discontinue his studies," replied Shaikh Farīd, "Carry on both of them, and (finally) whichever gets the upper hand, devote yourself to that Some knowledge is also necessary for a *durwesh*[5]"

One very significant advice which was given by Shaikh Farīd to his young disciple on his first visit to Ajodhan was that one should

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[1] See *Nafaḥāt-u'l-uns*, p 452; Shaikh Nizām-u'd-dīn spends whole night in the Juma'Masjid of Dehlī in the morning he hears the *mu'adhdhin* recite the following verse 'Has the time not come for the true believers that their hearts may tremble at the remembrance of the Lord," (*Qur'ān* s 57 10) and decides to proceed to Ajodhan and lay his head at the feet of Shaikh Farīd

[2] *Siyar-u'l-Auliyā*, p 106

[3] *Fawā'id-u'l-Fu'ād*, p 30
Siyar-u'l-Auliyā, p 107

[4] *Siyar-u'l-Auliyā*, p 107

[5] *Siyar-u'l-Auliyā*, p 107

placate one's enemies and should fulfil all his obligations[1] When Shaikh Nizām-u'd-dīn Auliyā returned from Ajodhan he cleared the debt he owed to a cloth dealer and offered to pay the price of a book which he had borrowed and lost[2]

Shaikh Nizām-u'd-dīn visited Ajodhan three times during the lifetime of the great Shaikh[3] During his second visit he studied with the Shaikh six chapters of the *Qur'ān*, five chapters of the *'Awārif-u'l-Ma'ārif* and two other books[4]

In Jamādī I, 664 A H /1265 A D, Shaikh Nizām-u'd-dīn visited his master for the last time. The Shaikh showered many blessings on him and said "I have given you both the worlds Go and take the kingdom of Hindustān[5]"

On Ramadān 13, 664 A H /1265 A D, Shaikh Farīd granted his *Khilāfat Nāmah* to Shaikh Nizām-u'd-dīn Auliyā who devoted his whole life to the propagation of the Chishtī mystic principles Baranī's account of the Shaikh's popularity and influence deserves to be quoted in full He writes "Shaikh Nizām-u'd-dīn had opened wide the doors of his discipleship and admitted (all sorts of people into his discipline) nobles and plebians, rich and poor, learned and illiterate citizens and villagers, soldiers and warriors, free-men and slaves[6] and these people refrained from many improper things, because they considered themselves disciples of the Shaikh, if any of them committed a sin, he confessed it and vowed allegiance anew The general public showed an inclination to religion and prayer, men and women, young and old, shop-keepers and servants, children and slaves, all came to say their prayers Most of these who frequented the Shaikh's company regularly said their *Chāsht*[7] and *Ishrāq* prayers Many platforms with thatched roofs over them were constructed on the way from the city to Ghiyāthpur, wells were dug, water-vessels were kept, carpets were spread, and a servant and a *hāfiz* was stationed at every platform so that the people going to the Shaikh may have no difficulty in saying their supererogatory prayers Owing to regard for the Shaikh's

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[1] *Fawā'id-u'l-Fu'ād* p 140
Siyar-u'l-Auliyā p 330

[2] *Fawā'id-u'l-Fu'ād*, p 140

[3] *Fawā'id-u'l-Fu'ād*, p 42

[4] *Fawā'id-u'l-Fu'ād*, p 163
Siyar-u'l Auliyā, p 106

[5] *Siyar-u'l-Auliyā*, pp 131-132

[6] For the Shaikh's explanation for admitting all sorts of people into his discipleship see *Siyar-u'l-Auliyā*, pp 346-348, where the author gives a long extract from Diā-u'd-dīn Baranī's *Hasrat Nāmah*

[7] In addition to the five compulsory (fard) prayers—*Fajr Zuhr*, *'Asr Maghrib* and *'Ishā*—there are five recommended (*sunnat*) prayers—(i) *Ishrāq*, offered after sunrise, (ii) *Chāsht*, offered at forenoon, (iii) *Zawāl*, offered after mid-day, (iv) *Awābīn* offered at twilight and (v) *Tahajjud* offered between mid-night and early dawn

discipleship all talk of sinful acts had disappeared from the people There were no topics of conversation among most people except inquiries about the prayers of *Chāsht*, *Awābīn* and *Tahajjud* How many genuflexions (*rak'ats*) they contained? What *Surah* of the *Qur'ān* to recite in each *rak'at*? What invocations (*du'ā*) are to follow each prayer? How many *rak'ats* does the Shaikh say every night, and what part of the *Qur'ān* in every *rak'at* and what *darūds* (Blessing on the Prophet)? What was the custom of Shaikh Farīd and Shaikh Bakhtiyār? Such were the questions asked by the new disciples of the old They inquired about fasting and prayer and about reducing their diet Many persons took to committing the *Qur'ān* to memory The new disciples of the Shaikh were entrusted to the old And the older disciples had no other occupation but prayer and worship, aloofness from the world, the study of books on devotion and the lives of saints And God forbid that they should ever talk or hear about the worldly affairs or ever turn towards the house of worldly men, for such things they considered to be entirely sinful and wrong Perseverence in supererogatory prayers alone had gone to such an extent that at the Sulṭān's court many amīrs, clerks, guards, and royal slaves had become the Shaikh's disciples, said their *Chāsht* and *Ishrāq* prayers and fasted on the 13th, 14th and 15th of every lunar month (*'Ayyām-i-Bīḍ*) as well as during the first ten days of Zil Hijjah There was no quarter of the city in which a gathering of the pious was not held every month or after every twenty days with mystic songs that moved them to tears Many disciples of the Shaikh finished the *tarāwīḥ*[1] prayers in their houses or in the mosques Such of them as were persevering passed the whole night standing in their prayers throughout the month of Ramaḍān, on Fridays and during the days of the Hajj The higher disciples stood in the prayers for a third or thee-fourths of the night throughout the years, while others said their morning prayers with the ablution of their 'Ishā prayer Some of the disciples had, by now reached to eminence in spiritual power through this education

"Owing to the influence of the Shaikh, most of the Mussalmāns of this country took an inclination to mysticism, prayers and aloofness from the world, and came to have a faith in the Shaikh This faith was shared by 'Alā-u'd dīn and his family. The hearts of men having become virtuous by good deeds, the very name of wine, gambling and other forbidden things never came to any one's lips Sins and abominable vices appeared to people as bad as infidelity Out of regard for one another the Mussalmāns refrained from open usury and regrating (*ihtikār*), while the shop-keepers, from fear, gave up speaking lies, using false weights and deceiving the ignorant. Most of the scholars and learned men, who frequented the Shaikh's company, applied themselves

[1] The prayers, of usually twenty *rak'ats*, recited at night during the month of Ramaḍān.

to books on devotion and mysticism. The books, *Qūt-u'l-Qulūb*,[1] *'Ihyā-u'l-'Ulūm*[2] and its translation,[3] *'Awārif*,[4] *Kashf-u'l-Mahjūb*,[5] *Sharh-i-Ta'arruf*,[6] *Risālah-i-Qushairī*,[7] *Mirsād-u'l-'Ibād*[8] *Maktūbāt-i-'Ain-u'l-Qudāt*[9] and the *Lawā'ih* and *Lawāma'* of Qādī Hamīd u'd-dīn Nāgaurī[10] found many purchasers, as also did the *Fawā'id-u'l-Fu'ād* of Amīr Hasan owing to the sayings of the Shaikh which it contains People asked the booksellers about books of devotion No handkerchief was seen without a tooth brush (*miswāk*) or a comb tied to it Owing to the great number of purchasers, the price of water and leathern vessels became high In short God had created the Shaikh as a peer of Shaikh Junaid[11] and Shaikh Bāyazīd[12] in these later days and adorned him with that divine love which cannot be understood by human wisdom The virtues of a Shaikh - and the art of leading men (in the mystic path) — found their fulfilment and their final consummation in him.

رین فن مطلب نامی
کان عدم شد است نرنظامی

(Do not try to obtain eminence in this art, for it has come to an end with Nizāmī)

"On the 5th of every Muharram, which is death-anniversary of Shaikh-u'l-Islām Shaikh Farīd-u'd-dīn, people flocked to the house of the Shaikh from the city and from different parts of Hindustān [13]"

Shaikh Farīd had said "Nizām-u'd-dīn ! You will be a tree under whose soothing shadow people will rest [14]" Shaikh Nizām-u'd-dīn proved himself true to the expectations of his master

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[1] Written by Maulānā Abū Tālib Macci (ob 386 A H /996 A D), published from Cairo in 2 Volumes in 1310 A H /1892 A D

[2] Written by Imām Ghazzālī (ob 505 A H /1111 A D) published from Cairo in 1311 A H /1893 A D

[3] i e *Kimiyā-i-Sa'ādat* (Newal Kishore, Lucknow, 1324 A H /1907 A D)

[4] Written by Shaikh Shihāb-u d-dīn Suhrawardī (ob 1234 A D), first published in Cairo on the margin of *Ihyā* of Imām Ghazzālī

[5] Written by Shaikh 'Alī Hujwe-ī (ob after 1074 A D), Persian text (Gulzār-i-Hind Steam Press, Lahore) English translation by R A Nicholson (Luzac 936)

[6] *Kitāb-i Ta'arruf* was written by Abū Bakr Muhammad bin Ibrāhīm Bukhārī (ob 390 A H /999 A D) It is one of the classics on Islamic mysticism The author of *Kashf-u'z zunūn* quotes a saying of the mystics about this book " لولا التعرف لما عرف التصوف "

[7] Written by Abu'l Qāsim 'Abd-u'l Karīm Qushairī (ob 465 A H /1072 A D) in 438 A H /1046 A D Published from Cairo in 1346 A H /1927 A D

[8] Written by Najm-u'd-dīn Rādī in 1223 A D See, Browne *Literary History of Persia*, Vol II, pp 495-496

[9] 'Ain-u'l-Qudāt Hamadānī (ob 525 A H /1130 A D)

[10] See Infra Bābā Farīd taught *Lawā'ih* to one of his disciples

[11] Abu'l Qāsim B Muhammad B Junaid (ob 298 A H /910 A D) See *Kashf al-Mahjūb* (Tr) pp 128-130

[12] Bāyazīd Taifūr Bistāmī (ob 261 A H /875 A D) See *Kashf al-Mahjūb* (Tr) p 106 *et seq*

[13] *Tārīkh-i-Fīrūz Shāhī*, pp 343-347

[14] *Siyar-u'l-Auliyā*, p 117

5. *Shaikh 'Alā-u'd-dīn 'Alī B. Aḥmad Ṣābir*[1]

He was the founder of the Ṣābrī branch of the Chishtī *Silsilah.* He is said to have been a prominent disciple of Shaikh Farīd. It is most unfortunate that no early account of this great saint is available. No contemporary or even semi-contemporary historian or *tadhkirahnavīs* has referred to him. Literature about him becomes profuse from the time of Shāh Jahān, when the author of *Siyar-u'l-Aqṭāb* wrote about him and the circumstances that led to the discovery of his grave in Kalyar many years after his death.[2] The Ṣābirī *Silsilah* however came into the full light of history when Shaikh Aḥmad 'Abd-u'l Haqq[3] (ob 837 A.H./1433 A.D.) established a great mystic centre at Rudaulī (in the Barābankī district) and began to propagate the teachings of the *Silsilah.*

6. *Shaikh 'Ārif*

A very brief and casual reference to him is found in the *Fawā'id-u'l-Fu'ād*[4] and the *Siyar-u'l-Auliyā.*[5] The Shaikh had sent him to Siwistān. Once the governor of Uchch gave him one hundred *tankahs* and asked him to take them to Shaikh Farīd. Shaikh 'Ārif offered only 50 *tankahs* to the Shaikh and retained the rest for himself. Shaikh Farīd smiled and said: "'Ārif! You have divided the amount on a brotherly basis." 'Ārif was covered with shame and confusion as he heard these words. He placed the whole amount before the saint and implored his forgiveness. Bābā Farīd asked him to shave his head and renew his discipleship. After this repentance Shaikh 'Ārif led a life of extreme devotion and the Shaikh granted him a *Khilāfat Nāmah* and ordered him to go again to Siwistān. Shaikh 'Ārif brought back the *Khilāfat Nāmah* and submitted to his master: "This responsible work is beyond the capacity of a weak man like myself; I cannot undertake the duties of the work of the great Shaikhs." The Shaikh permitted him to go on a pilgrimage to Mecca from where he never returned.

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[1] For brief biographical notices see, *Akhbār-u'l-Akhyār* p 69, *Siyar-u'l-Aqṭāb* pp 177-184, *Mir'āt-u'l-Asrār* (MS) pp 626-631, *Ma'ārij-u'l-Wilāyat* (MS) Vol I, pp 263-264.

[2] *Siyar-u'l-Aqṭāb*, p 183. Kalyar, near Roorkee in the Saharanpur District of the Uttar Pradesh.

[3] For brief biographical notices, see *Siyar-u'l-Aqṭāb*, pp 215-222, *Akhbār-u'l-Akhyār*, pp 182-184, *Mir'āt-u'l-Asrār*, (MS) p 917 *et seq.*

[4] *Fawā'id-u'l-Fu'ād*, pp 215-216.

[5] *Siyar-u'l-Auliyā*, pp 184-185.

CHAPTER XIV

The Man

> *"His life was gentle, and the elements*
> *So mixed in him, that Nature might stand up*
> *And say to all the world, "This was a man!"*

What strikes a biographer of Shaikh Farīd most is his excellence as a man. Truthful, honest, sincere, affectionate and considerate—he was a living embodiment of all the moral virtues which he preached to his disciples and visitors His warm loving nature responded to the triflest of human sufferings. He had that loftiness of spirit which grows out of unselfishness and which elicits spontaneous veneration Persons having little understanding of the mystic principles and ideology have disfigured these saints by attributing meaningless miracles to them. Shaikh Farīd's miracles were the miracles of a deeply sympathetic soul and his greatness was the greatness of a morally perfect man

The greatest attribute of Shaikh Farīd in the eyes of his nearest disciple, Shaikh Badr-u'd-dīn Isḥāq, was his absolute sincerity and complete absence of hypocrisy. His private life was a perfect mirror of his public life and he never said or did different things in public and in private There was complete harmony between his thought, words and actions. This was, as Maulānā Isḥāq correctly said, a unique and wonderful things [1]

Shaikh Nizām-u'd-dīn Auliyā was the dearest disciple of Shaikh Farīd and had been very close to his master He never thought of his miracles His heart was moved when he thought of the saint's اوصاف پسندیده (pleasant qualities) کمال بزرگی (perfection of saintliness) صایت فضل (excellent learning) and لطافت (kindness or courtesy) [2]

The first thing that captured a visitor's heart was the complete absence of all hateful distinctions and discriminations in his *Jamā'at Khānah*. Rich and poor, old acquaintances and new-comers, were received by him with the same courtesy and warmth of affection [3]

"Nothing will bring greater reward on the Day of Judgement", Shaikh Nizām-u'd-dīn Auliyā used to say, "than bringing happiness to the hearts of Mussalmāns and of men.[4]" Bābā Farīd's whole life

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[1] *Fawā'id-u'l-Fu'ād*, p 74
Siyar-u'l-Auliyā, p 65
[2] *Fawā'id-u'l-Fu'ād*, p. 96
[3] *Fawā'id-u'l-Fu'ād*, p 74, *Siyar-u'l-Auliyā*, p 65.
[4] *Siyar-u'l-Auliyā* p 128

was spent in bringing happiness to the hearts of men He attended to every problem that his visitors brought to him, not because he desired any reward in the next world, but because he could not bear to see any human suffering [1]

Shaikh Farid was a man of poise. He behaved with the utmost coolness in the face of the gravest provocation [2] His forbearance in moments of extreme excitement often turned an enemy into a devoted disciple One day he was sitting on his carpet when 'an insolent person'[3] came to him and shouted "Why do you display yourself like an idol?" "I have nothing to do in this matter," replied the Shaikh with unruffled temper, "God has made me what I am" "No," shouted the man, "You have made yourself like this" "No," replied the Shaikh, "God has made everything that exists" The man felt ashamed and went away.[4] Humility and modesty was deeply ingrained in his nature. Whenever he described his spiritual experiences he concealed his identity and created the impression as if he was referring to some other saint [5]

Shaikh Farid was always ready to forgive and forget Persons who annoyed and vexed him were forgiven by him The son of the magician Shihāb was responsible for his prolonged illness, but he forgave him and asked the governor of Ajodhan also to forgive him [6]

Shaikh Farid believed in pleasing even his enemies Shaikh Nizām-u'd-din Auliyā says that the Shaikh used to exhort his disciples with the maxim 'One should placate one's enemies [7]'

With this pleasant, forgiving and sympathetic nature, Shaikh Farid became a lovable figure People who visited him were captured by his charm and his sympathetic looks inspired faith and confidence in their hearts

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[1] One day five harsh-tempered and self-willed *dervishes* came to see the Shaikh. When they were leaving the *Jamā'at Khānah*, the Shaikh advised them not to follow the desert route on their journey They paid no heed to his warning and proceeded in the forbidden direction The Shaikh sent some of his disciples to see what route they had taken When he came to know that they had disregarded his advice, he began to weep and cry Shaikh Nizam u'd-din tells us

چون این خبر شنید هائی هائی بگریست، چنانکه کسی ماتم دارد

Sometime afterwards news was brought that those *dervishes* were swept away by a cyclone *Fawā'id-u'l-Fu'ād*, p 251

[2] *Fawā'id-u'l-Fu'ād*, pp 125 126

See also *Siyar-u'l-Auliyā*, p 84 Qādi 'Abd-u'llah talked ill about the Shaikh and his followers in the Jāma Masjid after the Friday prayer, the Shaikh did not quarrel with him Instead, he left the mosque and advised his disciples to be patient

[3] *Fawā'id-u'l-Fu'ād*, p 48, has یکی از بے باکان Jamāli says he was a *qalandar* (p 35)

[4] *Fawā'id-u'l-Fu'ād* has خجل شد و بازگشت (p 48) Jamāli says that he was so much impressed by the Shaikh's behaviour that he placed his head on the ground and praised his forbearance *Siyar-u'l-'Arifin* p 35

[5] *Fawā'id-u'l-Fu'ād* p 82, *Siyar-u'l-Auliyā*, p 336

[6] *Fawā'id-u'l-Fu'ād*, p 178

[7] *Fawā'id-u'l-Fu'ād*, p 140, *Siyar-u'l-Auliyā*, p 330

CHAPTER XV

The Scholar

"Muslim mysticism," remarks Professor Muḥammad Ḥabīb, "is a post-graduate creed[1]" An ignorant man was considered incapable of undertaking the mystic journey because he could not distinguish between *reality* and *illusion* and was, therefore, always in danger of getting stuck in a spiritual morass "An illiterate mystic," Shaikh Quṭb-u'd-dīn Bakhtiyār Kākī told Shaikh Farīd-u'd-dīn Ganj-i-Shakar, "falls a prey in the hands of the devil[2]"

True to the highest traditions of medieval mysticism, Shaikh Farīd strove for the best education that was possible in his days Early in his life, he had desired to abandon his studies and follow Shaikh Quṭb-u'd-dīn Bakhtiyār Kākī, but the saint advised him to complete his education before turning to the discipline of his soul After years of strenuous effort and struggle he completed his education and attained to a high degree of scholarship

Pedantic display of knowledge — so common a characteristic of the *'ulāmā-i-ẓāhir* — was regarded by the Shaikh with contempt Knowledge, he said, should bring in its wake humility sympathy and understanding If it created arrogance and pride it defeated its own purpose He used to say

مقصود از خواندن علم شریعت برائی عمل است نه از برائی ایذائی خلق[3]

(The aim of acquiring knowledge of the religious law (*'ilm-i-Sharī'at*) is to act upon it and not to harass people)

Though a profound scholar himself, he never used his scholarship to overawe others There was a magnetic force in his humility and sympathy which is the essence of true scholarship (1) Maulānā Ḍiā-u'd-dīn was an eminent scholar of Dehlī He knew many sciences but had no knowledge of *Fiqh* (Jurisprudence) and *Naḥv* (Syntax) Once he went to see the Shaikh but was afraid that the Shaikh might ask him about matters which he did not know But to display his learning or to make others feel the meagreness of their knowledge was not the Shaikh's habit He asked Maulānā Ḍiā-u'd-dīn about those things only which he had fully mastered and the Maulānā returned from his company self-confident and elated[4] (2) Shaikh Badr-u'd-dīn Isḥāq

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[1] *Early Islamic Mysticism* Vidyapitha Commemoration Volume, p 71

[2] *Tārīkh-i-Firishtah*, Vol II, p 383

[3] *Siyar-u'l-Auliyā*, p 85

[4] *Siyar-u'l-Auliyā*, p 85.

who later on became the Shaikh's disciple and son-in-law, was an eminent scholar of his day He was held in high esteem in the literary circles of Dehli In the course of his studies he came across some difficulties which, in spite of his efforts, he could not solve The scholars of Dehli failed to help him in the matter At last he thought of undertaking a journey to Bukhārā and place his difficulties before the scholars of that renowned centre of Muslim learning He left Dehli with a heavy load of books While passing through Ajodhan he heard about the erudition and scholarship of Bābā Farid He decided to see the saint Much to his surprise and astonishment the saint solved all his difficulties in a few unassuming words Shaikh Badr-u'd-din fell at the feet of the saint and became his disciple [1] (3) Shaikh Nizām-u'd-din Auliyā had completed his education at the feet of the most talented and gifted teachers of Dehli His own attainments were remarkable But, when he heard the Shaikh discussing abstruse problems in an extremely simple clear and lucid manner, he was taken by surprise "It enchanted one's very soul," he used to say about the Shaikh's power of expression and exposition, "You felt like giving up the ghost at that very place [2]"

Bābā Farid's main subject of study was the *Qur'ān* He had devoted much of his time and energy to it and in fact his knowledge and understanding of the Holy Book was remarkable He taught six parts of the *Qur'ān* to Shaikh Ni ām-u'd-din Auliyā who could never, during his life, forget the Shaikh's charming and inimitable manner of reciting it.[3]

Besides, Bābā Farid had a wide and extensive knowledge of the mystic literature He laid special emphasis on the *'Awārif-u'l-Ma'ārif*[4] of Shaikh Shihāb-u'd-din Suhrawardi and considered it to be an indispensable study for a mystic selected by his master for the grant of *Khilāfat*

The author of *Gulzār-i-Abrār* says that Shaikh Farid had prepared an excellent commentary on the *'Awārif-u'l-Ma'ārif* His reference to this commentary gives the impression that he had seen it, but none of our medieval records refer to it [5] The fact however remains that

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[1] *Fawā id-u'l-Fu'ād*, pp 89 90,
Siyar-u'l-Auliyā pp 70-71

[2] *Siyar-u l-Auliyā* p 170

[3] *Fawā id u'l-Fu'ād*, p 75 He used to say that whoever desired to commit the *Qur'ān* to memory should begin with the *Surah-i-Yusuf* *Siyar-u'l-Auliyā*, p 438

[4] It was first published in Cairo on the margin of *Ihyā* of Imām Ghazzāli It was translated into Persian under the title *Misbāh u'l Hidāyah wa-Miftāh-u'l-Kifāyah* by 'Izz-u'd-din Mahmūd bin 'Ali Kāshāni (ob 735 A H /1334 A D) Published by Newal Kishore, Lucknow in 1904 Another well annotated edition from Irān by Aghā Jalāl-u'd-din Humā'i H Wilberforce Clarke translated it into English from the Persian version and published it in an appendix to his translation of Hāfiz (London, 1891)

Bābā Farid gave his copy of the *'Awārif* to Shaikh Jamāl-u'd-din Hānswi who later on entrusted it to Shaikh Nizām-u'd Auliyā Shaikh Nizām-u'd-din Auliyā granted it to Shaikh Qutb-u'd-din Munawwar *Siyar-u'l-Auliyā*, pp 249-250

[5] The best known commentary on the *'Awārif-u'l-Ma'ārif* from the pen of an Indian scholar is the *Dhawārif-u'l-Latā'if fi Sharh 'Awārif-u'l-Ma'ārif* by Shaikh Ali b Ahmad al-Mahā'imi (ob 835 A H /1431 A D) MSS in the Rāmpūr and the Bānkipūr libraries

Bābā Farīd was keenly interested in the book and probably the credit of introducing it in India and making it a part of the mystic syllabus goes to him.

Had Bābā Farīd seen Shaikh Shihāb-u'd-dīn? Our earlier authorities do not say a word about it, but later works,[1] probably inspired by the fabricated *Malfūẓāt*,[2] say that Bābā Farīd had met the great Suhrawardī saint and was deeply impressed by him. The author of *Jawāhir-i-Farīdī* says that Shaikh Shihāb-u'd-dīn Suhrawardī had presented him a copy of his *'Awārif-u'l-Ma'arif* with the remark

این را مطالعہ کنید کہ مخصوص دوائی شما ساختہ ایم

(Study it because I have compiled it specially for you.)

While nothing definite can be said on this point, one cannot fail to find an element of personal attachment in the attitude of Bābā Farīd towards the author of *'Awārif-u'l-Ma'ārif*.[3]

Bābā Farīd was also interested in the works of Qāḍī Hamīd-u'd-dīn Nāgaurī, a close friend and companion of his master, Khwāja Quṭb-u'd-dīn Bakhtiyār Kākī. The Qāḍī's works formed a very difficult reading and a great scholar of the middle ages is reported to have told his pupils: "Whatever you have read is in these books (of Qāḍī Hamīd); whatever you have not read is also in these books; whatever I have read is here and whatever I have not read is also here.[4]" However Bābā Farīd had full grasp of these works and could very effectively explain them before his disciples. He taught *Lawā'ih* to Shams-i-Dabīr.[5]

Bābā Farīd was keenly interested in books and it seems that he possessed a library[6] of standard works on religion and mysticism. In the fabricated *Malfūẓ* literature he is made to refer to a very large number of books.[7] A few anecdotes about the Shaikh mentioned in the *Siyar u'l Auliyā* and other works show that he had a very thorough knowledge of the Arabic grammar.

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[1] *Sab Sanābil* p. 55; *Jawāhir-i-Farīdī*, MS.

[2] The *Rāhat-u'l-Qulūb* attributes this statement to Shaikh Farīd:
"شیخ شہاب الدین سہروردی قدس اللہ سرہ العزیز را این دعا گو دیدہ است و چند روز بخدمت ایشان ہم بودہ"

[3] *Fawā'id-u'l-Fu'ād* p. 75.

[4] *Fawā'id-u'l-Fu'ād*, p. 241.

[5] *Fawā'id-u'l-Fu'ād* p. 128.

[6] *Siyar-u'l-Auliyā* p. 187.

[7] e.g. *Kitāb-i-'Umdah*, *Asrār-u'l-'Arifīn*, *Tafsīr-i-Imām Zāhid*, *Dalīl-i-Insānī*, by Khwāja Shafīq Balkhī, *Mashāriq-u'l-Anwār*, *'Ayd-i-Kitāb*, *Athar-u't Taba'-īn*, *Sharh-i-'Ulāmā*, *Rahat-u'l Arwāh*, by Qāḍī Hamīd-u'd-dīn Nāgaurī, *Sharh-i-Mashāikh*, *Fatāwa-i-Kubrā*, *Qūt-u'l-Qulūb*, *'Awārif-u'l-Ma'ārif*, *Fatāwa-i-Zāhiriah*, *Kitāb-i-Tanbīh*, *Sharh-i-Auliyā* by Khwāja Mawdūd Chishtī, *Kitāb-i-Rauda*, *Athār-i-Auliyā*, *Jāma'-u'l-Hikāyāt*, *Tafsīr-i-Kashshāf*, *Kitāb-i-Kifāyah*, *Aurād-i-Shaikh 'Uthmān Harvanī*, and *Sharh-i-Shaikh-u'l-Islām Mu'īn-u'd-dīn*.

CHAPTER XVI

The Poet

A heart overflowing with feelings of love and devotion could hardly resist its expression in verse Bābā Farid composed verses in Arabic, Persian and in some local dialects Amir Khurd has quoted, at different places in his book, the following verses of the Shaikh

بقدر رنج یابی سروری را
بشب بیدار بودن مهتری را

(You will get honour in proportion to the pains that you undertake in your work Keeping awake at night brings greatness)

لو کان هذا العلم یدرک بالمنی — ما کان یبقی فی البریة جاهل
فاجهد ولا تکسل ولا تک غافلا — فندامة العقبی لمن یتکاسل

(If it would have been possible to acquire knowledge through aspiring alone, there would have been no illiterate in this world You should strive hard and shed away lethargy for shame is reserved for the indolent on the Day of Judgement)

رضینا قسمة الجبار فینا
لنا علم وللجهال مال

(We are satisfied with the distribution made by God. There is *knowledge* for us and *wealth* for the ignorant)

رو دل بکسی ده که نمیرد تا تو
از درد فراق او نگری باری[1]

قبایش را شدم بنده که چون بگشاد بنشیند
ولی خصم کمربندم که چون در پشت برخیزد

(رباعی)

از نور جلال مرد مطلق خیزد — و از شوق خدا اگرچه رونق خیزد
این خاطر مردان چه عجائب بحری است — چون موج زند همه انا الحق خیزد

تو گدائی دور باش از پادشاه — تا نیاید بر در تو دور باش
گر وصال شاه میداری طمع — از وصال خویشتن مهجور باش

---

[1] With reference to this and the three couplets that follow, Amir Khurd says "بر زبان شیخ شیخ العالم فرید الحق و الدین گذشته است" (*Siyar-u'l-Auliyā*, pp 464, 473, 476, 363) It may mean either that somebody's verse was quoted by the Shaikh or that it was composed by the saint himself I am inclined to interpret it in the latter sense for two reasons (i) Where Amir Khurd makes Bābā Farid quote somebody else's verse, he writes simply این بیت خواند e g on p 503 where Bābā Farid recites a verse of Nizāmi (ii) These verses have been quoted by Amir Khurd in contexts quite unrelated to the Shaikh Had these verses been composed by somebody else, he could have very well mentioned the name, or if he did not know that, he could say, as he has very often done in his book, بزرگی گفته. These four verses have been woven by him in the narrative because they very neatly express the point in discussion and the context shows that he considers them to be Bābā Farid's compositions.

(رباعی)

در شعلهٔ شمعم دل حزینم بگرفت   و اندیشهٔ یار نازنینم بگرفت
گفتم سر و دیده روم بر در تو   اشکم بدوید و آستینم بگرفت

المباحثة بين الاثنين
خير من تكرار السنين

ای مدعی بدعوی چندین مکن دلیری
یک حرف را ز معنی سه صد جواب باشد

خورش ده بکنجشک و کبک و حمام
که ناگه همائی در افتد بدام

ان ارذل الناس
من اشتغل بالاكل واللباس

The following verse in some local dialect was also composed by the saint :

کت بهوتین کارری نا کان ہت منای
بس کندلی مدهی گر هو ربی لہد لہا[1]

The following verses were often recited by the Shaikh, but it cannot be said definitely whether they are his own compositions

عشق تو مرا اسیر و حیران کرده است   در کوی خرابات پریشان کرده است
این همه رنج و محنت ای دوست بین   اسرار تو در دلم که پنهان کرده است

گیرم که شب نماز بسیار کنی   در روز دوائی شخص بیمار کنی
تا دل نکنی ز حرص و کین خالی   صد خرمن گل بر سر یک خار کنی

گر می ندهد هجر تو وصلت یارم
تا جان بسر کوی تو کاری دارم

چو درویش را کار بالا کشید
بیک لحظه سر در ثریا کشید
چنان غرق گردد بدریائی عشق
که یک دم سرار عشق بالا کشید

Dr Maulvi 'Abd-u'l Haqq has quoted in his book, "*The Sufi's work in the early Development of Urdu Language*,[2]" the following Urdū verses as specimens of Bābā Farid's poetic compositions

اسا کیری بہی سوریت
جاؤں دائے کہ جاؤں مسیت

تن دھوے سے دل جو ہوتا پوک   پیش رو اصفیا کے ہوتے غوک
ریش سبلت سے گر بڑے ہوتے   بوکڑوں سے نہ کوئی بڑے ہوتے
خاک لانے سے گر خدا پائیں   گائے بیلاں بھی واصلاں ہو جائیں

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[1] *Seyar-u'l-Auliyā*, p 367
[2] Published by the *Anjuman-e-Taraqqi-e-Urdu*, Dehli, 1939, pp. 7-9.

گوش گری میں گر خدا ملتا
گوش چوپان (؟) کوئی نہ واصل تھا

عشق کا رموز نیارا ہے
جز مدد پیر کے نہ چارا ہے

وقت سحر وقت مناجات ہے   خیز دران وقت کہ برکات ہے
نفس مبادا کہ بگوید ترا   خسپ چہ خیزی کہ ابھی رات ہے
باتن تنہا چہ روی زیر زمین   نیک عمل کن کہ رہی سات ہے
پند شکر گنج بہ دل جان شنو   ضایع مکن عمر کہ ہیہات ہے

چلی یاد کی کرنا ہر گھڑی یک تل حضور سون ٹلنا نہیں
اٹھہ بیٹھہ میں یاد سون شاد رہنا گواہ دار کو چھوڑ کے چلنا نہیں
پاک رکھہ تون دل کو غیر سنی آج سائین فرید کا آونا ہے
قدیم ندیمی کہ آوے میں لازوال دولت کون پاونا ہے

The learned writer has not given a critical account of the sources from which he has collected these verses Their authenticity is doubtful in view of the fact that the *nome de-plumes* used here were never used by the saint [1]

Shaikh 'Abd-u'l Wāḥid Ibrāhīmī has quoted the following verses of Shaikh Farīd in his book *Sab' Sanābil*, written in 969 A H /1561 A D. [2]

ٹوپی لیندی باوری دیندی کہری لج
چوہا کڈہ نہ ماوی پچھی بلدھدی چھج

سان من مدائیاں سر ملی کیا ہوی[3]
کینس نہیڈان میان سرک نہ لدھی کوی

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[1] Ali Asghar Chishti also attributes to the great saint the following verse in which the *nome-de-plume* Farīd occurs, but it is difficult to accept it as genuine

فرید ادہر سولی سر بیٹھرے تلیاں توکت کاک
رب اجدون نہ باہڑے سودھی اساڈے بھاگ

(*Jawāhar-i-Farīdī* MS)

[2] *Sab' Sanābil*, p 58 Shaikh Abd-u'l Wāhid has thus rendered these verses into Persian .

نادان ترسست مرد کلہ گیر دیکھرد
مرد کلاہ دہ بیقین سخت بدھیا
موشی کہ خود نوحدم نگنجد زانکیش
بندد بخویش بارگران در مضیق ھا

ای سر تراش دل بتراش از ہوائی نفس   کز سر تراشیت نبود راہ دین حصول
چندین ہزار ریش تراشیدہ ہر طرف   زینہا یکی بدرگہ مولیٰ نشد قبول

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[3] Also as

مونڈاں منڈ منڈائیاں سر مونڈیں کیا ہوئی

Sab' Sanābil, p. 58.

CHAPTER XVII

Teachings of Shaikh Farid

Bābā Farid's long life was devoted to the moral and spiritual culture of man. It is really unfortunate that no detailed account of his conversations was prepared Amir Khurd refers to a disciple who had collected his 500 sayings, but that work has not survived What we have today from that book is a selection by Amir Khurd Shaikh Nizām-u'd-din Auliyā says that he took down some notes from his conversations, but this work was probably meant for his personal use and was never published Even Amir Khurd who had access to the Shaikh's papers after his death did not find it in them The two books *Asrār-u'l-Auliyā*, and *Rahāt-u'l-Qulūb* are definitely fabrications of a later date and it would be utterly unjust to prepare an account of the Shaikh's teachings on their basis One has therefore to fall back on the rather meagre information contained in the *Fawa'id-u'l-Fu'ad* and the *Siyar-u'l-Auliyā*

Shaikh Farid was endowed with remarkable persuasive powers A few anecdotes about him mentioned in the *Fawā'id-u'l-Fu'ad* throw considerable light on his accurate understanding of human nature and effective manner of advice [1]

A free translation of some of his sayings quoted by Amir Khurd[2] is given below —

1 Escaping from one's self is (a means of) attaining to God

2. Do not satisfy the demands of the physical self, for the more you satisfy it the more it demands

3 Do not regard the ignorant as alive

4 Give a wide berth to an ignorant man who poses as a learned one.

5 Do not utter a truth which resembles a lie

6 Do not try to sell what people do not wish to buy

7. Do not hanker after worldly pelf and glory

8 Do not eat everybody's bread, but give bread to people (freely).

9 Do not forget death at any place

10. Do not say anything as mere guess work.

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[1] *See Fawā'id-u l-Fu'ād*, pp 211-2, 215, 90, 147, etc

[2] *Siyar-u'l-Auliyā*, pp 76-77

11. Whenever an evil befalls you consider it a punishment of your sins.

12. Do not boast of having committed a sin.

13. Do not make your heart a plaything of the devil.

14 Keep your internal self better than the external self.

15. Do not strive to display yourself.

16. Do not lower yourself in an attempt to secure a high position.

17 Do not borrow anything from either the weak or the upstarts.

18 Treat old families with respect

19 Aspire for new (spiritual) attainments every day.

20 As far as possible prevent women from developing the habit of using abusive language

21 Consider good health a blessing

22. Show gratitude but do not place the obligation of gratefulness on others

23. While doing good to others think that you are doing good to yourself

24. Give up immediately the pursuit of a thing which your heart considers bad

25 Do not retain a slave who wants to be sold

26 Be always on the look out for a pretext for doing good.

27. Do not fight or quarrel in a manner which leaves no room for reconciliation

28. Consider levity and anger as signs of weakness

29 Do not consider yourself safe from an enemy howsoever conciliatory he might be towards you

30. Whoever fears you fear him.

31 Do not place reliance on your strength.

32 Of all times self-restraint is most necessary at the time of sexual desire

33 Do not forget religion when in company of the rich

34 Greatness and honour consist in doing justice

35. Be generous when you have wealth

36. There can be no substitute for religion.

37. There can be no equivalent to time.

38. Show generosity to the righteous man.

39. Consider haughtiness necessary in dealing with the proud ones.

40. Do not entertain guests with extravagance.

41. When God visits you with some calamity, do not turn away from it.

42. Consider a *durwesh* who lives in the hope of riches as avaricious.

43. Entrust the country to a God-fearing Wazir.

44. Defeat your enemy by consulting him and captivate your friend by your politeness.

45. Consider worldliness as an unforeseen calamity.

46. Be critical of your own shortcomings.

47. Acquire wealth by merit so that it may last for ever.

48. Acquire knowledge through humility.

49. Do not lose your temper at the bitter words of the enemy and do not lose your shield by being overpowered with anger.

50. If you do not want to be held in disgrace do not beg for anything.

51. If you want to make the entire world your enemy develop pride.

52. Conceal your good and bad things.

53. Protect religion by knowledge.

54. If you want greatness associate with the downtrodden.

55. If you want ease and comfort, do not be jealous.

56. Accept affliction as a present.

57. Work in a way that you may get (eternal) life after death.

These sayings of the Shaikh are not dry aphorisms. They epitomise the essence of morality and wisdom and are deeply steeped in the mystic ideology. The Shaikh always tried to impress, by precept and example, upon the minds of his followers that the supreme aim of a mystic's life should be to create love and affection in the hearts of the people. One day a man presented a pair of scissors to him. "Give me a needle," he told the man, "I sew (and join), I do not cut (and divide).[1]"

Shaikh Farid wanted his disciples to develop complete faith in God because this faith alone could bring about a concentration and intensification of human powers. One day, while leaning on his staff, his mood changed and he threw his staff away. Shaikh Nizām-u'd-dīn was present at that time. He was surprised at the sudden change in the Shaikh's mood. When he inquired about the reason, the Shaikh replied: "I was reprimanded because I put faith in others than Him.[2]"

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[1] *Fawā'id-u'l-Fu'ād*, p. 226.

[2] *Siyar-u'l-Auliyā*, p. 81.

Bābā Farīd one day informed his audience that four questions were put to 700 saints and all of them gave the same reply.[1] These questions were

1. *Who is the wisest?* "One who rejects the world," they replied.

2 *Who is the most saintly?* "One who does not get changed at everything"

3 *Who is the richest and the wealthiest of all men?* "One who is content."

4 *Who is the most needy?* "One who gives up contentment" Shaikh Farīd advised his disciples to develop independence of spirit and place their requests before God alone "God," he told his disciples, "feels ashamed when he rejects the requests of a man who raises his hands in supplication [2]"

A life of poverty (*Faqr*) and resignation (*Tawakkul*) was the frequent burthen of Bābā Farīd's discourses He wanted his disciples to accept the life of penury and penitence with pleasure and devote themselves to Him and Him alone He was keenly conscious of the fact that the highest spiritual aspirations of man are apt to become stifled by the weight of his material possessions and that riches often arrest the growth and expansion of the spirit "The day of failure," he used to say, "is the night of the highest spiritual ascension [3]"

Time is the most precious thing in the possession of a *durwesh* and he should take full care of it. Time and again Bābā Farīd would revert to this theme and explain to his disciples the value of time Imām *Shāfi'ī*, he said, served the *ṣūfīs* for ten years and then he came to know the value of time [4].

Shaikh Farīd did not want his disciples to waste their time in idle or loose talk "One should work," he told his disciples, "and should not loose himself in the talks of the people" He approvingly quoted the remarks of Shaikh Jalāl-u'd-dīn Tabrīzī "Many utterances lull the heart and make it indifferent (to the Divine messages) Only that thing should be uttered which is for the Lord alone [5]"

A *faqīr* who wears new clothes, the Shaikh said, wraps himself in a shroud.[6] He tried to bring home to the heart of his disciples the fact that a life of ease and comfort is really incompatible with the requirements of the life of a *durwesh*

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[1] *Siyar-u'l-Auliyā*, p 74
[2] *Siyar-u'l-Auliyā*, p 74
[3] *Siyar-u'l-Auliyā*, p 74
[4] *Siyar-u'l-Auliyā*, p 74
[5] *Siyar-u'l-Auliyā*, p 75
[6] *Siyar-u'l-Auliyā* p 75

The following precepts and sayings of the Shaikh deserve to be noted as they clearly indicate his views about some matters of vital importance:

1. *Zakāt* is of three kinds *Zakāt-i-Sharī'at*, *Zakāt-i-Tarīqat* and *Zakāt-i-Haqīqat* *Zakāt-i-Sharī'at* is that one gives 5 *dirhams* out of 20; *Zakāt-i-Tarīqat* means that one keeps 5 *dirhams* and gives 15, *Zakāt-i-Haqīqat* means that all is given away and nothing is retained.[1]

2. The Prophet used to say that blessed is the man whose knowledge of his own faults and defects prevents him from disclosing the faults of others[2]

3 Mutual discussions are better than repetitions in loneliness[3]

4 There is calamity in deliberation and safety in resignation to the will of God[4]

5. The *'ulāmā* are nobler than the common people and the *faqīrs* are the noblest of all[5]

6. The *faqīrs* occupy the same place in the midst of *'ulāmā* which the full moon occupies in the midst of the constellation of stars[6]

7 The meanest of all people is one who busies himself exclusively in feeding and clothing himself[7]

8. Mystic music (*Samā'*) moves the hearts of the listeners and breathes the fire of love in their hearts[8]

Bābā Farīd wanted his disciples to be absolutely free from pride and arrogance He advised them to develop a spirit of humility in their relations with their spiritual guide and master One day he narrated before his disciples the following story of Shaikh Abū Sa'īd Abu'l Khair[9]

'Once Shaikh Abū Sa'īd Abu'l Khair was riding on a horse A *murīd*, who was walking on foot, saw him, and rushed to kiss his knee The Shaikh said 'Lower still!' The disciple kissed the Shaikh's feet 'Lower still', said the Shaikh Thereupon the disciple kissed the hoof of the horse 'Lower still', repeated the Shaikh The disciple then kissed the ground The Shaikh then remarked "In asking you to kiss 'still lower' my object was not to make you pay respects to myself. The lower you kissed the higher became your (spiritual rank)[10]"

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[1] *Fawā'id-u'l-Fu'ād*, p 103

[2] *Siyar-u'l-Auliyā*, p 75

[3] to [8] *Siyar-u'l Auliyā* pp 75-76 546

[9] Shaikh Abu Sa'īd Fadl-u'llah bin Abu'l Khair (967-1049 A D) is an eminent figure in the history of Islamic mysticism It was he who first impressed on the Persian *rubā'ī* the mystical stamp His biographical details may be read in the *Asrār-u't-Tauhīd-fi-Maqāmāt-i-Shaikh Abī Sa'īd* (compiled between 1157-1203 A D) edited by Ahmad Bahmanyār (Tihrān 1934 A D) The Chishtī mystics of India had great respect for him Shaikh Nizām-u'd-dīn Auliyā and Shaikh Nasīr-u'd-dīn Chirāgh-i-Dehlī have frequently referred to him in their conversations *Fawā'id-u'l-Fu'ād*, pp 7, 13 etc, *Siyar-u'l-Auliyā*, pp 340, etc, *Khair-u'l-Majālis*, pp 38, 80, 84, 110 etc.

[10] *Fawā'id-u'l-Fu'ād*, p 215

Sab' Sanābil (p 68) wrongly attributes this story to Shaikh Nasīr-u'd-dīn Chirāgh-i-Dehlī and Sayyid Muhammad Gesū Darāz.

CHAPTER XVIII

Baba Farid's Spiritual Discipline

The credit of stabilizing the Chishti order in India goes to Bābā Farīd. As Shaikh Nizām-u'd-dīn Auliyā had once remarked, he belonged to that group of mystics who had made mysticism a mass movement and had admitted all sorts of people to the mystic discipline in order to create religious consciousness in them [1] Bābā Farīd's long, sincere and strenuous application to the cause of the *Silsilah* immensely raised its prestige People flocked round him from far and near and learnt at his feet the moral and spiritual doctrines of the Chishti order

Broadly speaking, Bābā Farīd's disciples comprised men of two types—those who had made up their minds to consecrate their lives completely to religion, and those who joined his discipleship for their spiritual betterment, yet carried on their worldly pursuits From the second type of his disciples the Shaikh rarely expected anything more than honest dealings with their fellow men and regular performance of their obligatory religious duties From his higher disciples he demanded complete severance of all earthly ties and selfless devotion to the cause of religion He was satisfied if a *murīd* belonging to the second category regularly paid *Zakāt-i-Sharī'at* (one fourth of what he possessed), but a higher disciple had to pay *Zakāt-i-Haqīqat* (all that he possessed) [2] This higher class of disciples consisted of those persons whom the Shaikh desired to appoint as his *Khalīfah* He advised them as follows —

(i) Spiritual progress lies in the discipline of soul and the purification of inner life, not in the mechanical performance of prayers. If *ma'rifat* is desired, anger, jealousy and hatred should be completely wiped out from the heart [3]

(ii) Gnosis is beyond the reach of one who consorts with kings.[4] Minionism weakens the moral fibre and kills the freedom of the soul

(iii) Trusteeship causes distraction in the singleminded pursuit of spiritual ideals. This responsibility should never be accepted.[5]

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[1] *Siyar-u'l-Auliyā*, p 347

[2] *Fawā'd-u'l-Fu'ād*, p 103

[3] See *Supra* p 85

[4] *Siyar-u'l-Auliyā*, p 363

[5] *Siyar-u'l-Auliyā*, p, 325
Shaikh Nizām-u'd-dīn Auliyā informs us that Shaikh Farīd used to say:
کسی کہ امانت قبول کند او از مریدان من نباشد

(iv) There should be no quarrel with anybody in this world. Even enemies should be pleased and placated [1]

(v) Obligations should be fulfilled, and duties should be performed [2]

(vi) Religious knowledge and learning is a pre requisite to spiritual discipline [3]

Shaikh Farid took considerable pains in building up healthy and integrated personalities of his disciples He persistently asked them to develop self-reliance and evolve the inner richness of their being He cultivated their emotions and tutored their intellects. It was his firm conviction that intellect, uninspired by Love and uncontrolled by faith in moral and spiritual values, acts as a force of disintegration in human life He familiarised his disciples with the higher religious thought by teaching standard mystic works to them and disciplined their inner lives by a careful cultivation and control of their emotions He did not spin fine ideas but expressed in his life the accumulated wisdom of the mystic creed and thus prepared his disciples both emotionally and intellectually for the arduous task of guiding the destinies of the *silsilah* Shaikh Nizām-u'd-dīn Auliyā's life is a glaring illustration of the way in which his example inspired his disciples and moulded their thought and character. At every new problem that cropped up in his *Jamā'at Khānah* and at every critical phase in his life, Shaikh Nizām-u'd-dīn Auliyā's mind went back to his master and he tried to emulate him as best as he could [4] It was at the feet of Shaikh Farid that he learnt his lessons in pacificism, cosmopolitanism and renunciation of the materialistic pursuits

Shaikh Farid considered *Khilāfat* to be a very serious and sacred duty which could be assigned to a disciple possessing rare qualities of head and heart While appointing Shaikh Nizām-u'd-dīn Auliyā as his successor, he remarked [5]

' باری تعالی ترا علم و عقل و عشق، داده است و هرکه بدین سه صفت موصوف باشد او بخلافت مشایخ نیکو آید"

(God Almighty has given thee knowledge, wisdom and cosmic emotion and he alone who possesses these three qualities is qualified to discharge the duties of the *Khilāfat* of saints)

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[1] *Fawā'id-u'l-Fu'ād*, p 140, *Siyar u'l Auliyā* p 330

[2] *Fawā'id u'l Fu'ād* p 140

[3] *Siyar-u'l-Auliyā*, p 107

[4] (a) A *Jawāliq* comes to see Shaikh Nizām u'd dīn Auliyā who can, following the practice of Shaikh Bahā u'd dīn Zakariyya, refuse to see him, but this is not the tradition of his master He welcomes the *Jawāliq* and tells his audience 'Shaikh-u'l-Islām Farid u'd-dīn welcomed every one' *Fawā'id u'l Fu'ād* p 5

(b) A woman joins the discipleship of Shaikh Nizām-u'd-dīn Auliyā whose mind goes back to his master who was a great believer in the capabilities of women 'Shaikh-u'l Islām Farid u'd-dīn has often said about a woman who lived in Inderpat She is a man who has been sent in the form of woman" *Fawā'id-u'l-Fu'ād* p 22

(c) A *Jawāliq* comes to Shaikh Nizām-u'd-dīn Auliyā and begins to abuse him The Shaikh hears him patiently because his master had behaved like-wise under similar circumstances *Fawā'id u'l Fu'ād*, p 48

To multiply examples one needs only turn over the pages of the *Fawā'id-u'l-Fu'ād*

[5] *Siyar-u'l-Auliyā*, p 345.

Indiscriminate grant of *Khilāfat*, which became a feature of later-day mysticism, was strongly disapproved by Shaikh Farid. He used to say. "The saints bestow their *Khilāfat* in three ways First is the *Raḥmani* way which is the best and the stablest. There are plenty of blessings and benedictions in it It is this God directly puts it into the heart of a *Shaikh* to give his *Khilāfat* to a particular person The second way is that a Shaikh considers a disciple capable and (keeping his qualifications in mind) decides to grant his *Khilāfat* to him In it there is a possibility of a Shaikh's opinion being right or wrong The third way is that a *Shaikh* grants *Khilāfat* to a particular person, not of his own accord, but due to somebody's recommendation or as a matter of grace.[1]"

All those mystics whom Shaikh Farid gave his *Khilāfat Nāmahs* were required to get the document endorsed by his senior disciples, particularly Shaikh Jamāl-u'd-din Hānswi[2] Whether the Shaikh's aim in adopting this procedure was to have the benefit of a second opinion or to impress upon the mind of the newly appointed *Khalīfah* the superiority of Shaikh Jamāl-u'd-din or to keep the senior disciples informed about the additions to the inner circle, cannot be definitely stated It was, however, rigorously enforced and the saint once refused to grant his *Khilāfat* to a disciple whose *Khilāfat Nāmah* had been torn by Shaikh Jamāl[3]

Shaikh Farid took all possible measures to see that his *Khilāfat Nāmahs* were not forged or fabricated One day he asked Maulānā Badr u'd-din Isḥāq to prepare a few copies of his *Khilāfat Nāmah* for some persons whom he desired to appoint his *Khalīfahs* A disciple who had served the Shaikh long and devotedly but was not considered for *Khilāfat* remarked in disgust "If the Shaikh himself does not give me *Khilāfat*, I can prepare a document like this and busy myself in the work (of enrolling disciples)." The Shaikh was alarmed and he instructed Maulānā

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[1] *Siyar-u'l-Auliyā*, p 345

Shaikh Nizām-u'd-din Auliyā comes under the first category (*Khair-u'l-Majālis*, p 224) and Maulānā Fakhr-u'd-din Ṣafāhāni under the third (*Siyar-u'l-Auliyā*, pp 345-346)

[2] When Shaikh Farid gave his *Khilāfat Nāmah* to Shaikh Niẓām-u'd-din Auliyā he instructed him to show the document to Maulānā Jamāl-u'd-din in Hānsi and Qāḍi Muntajab in Dehli Shaikh Nizām-u'd-din was surprised at the omission of the name of Shaikh Najib-u d-din Mutawakkil, a senior disciple and brother of the saint, but when he reached Dehli he found, to his great surprise and grief that Shaikh Najib had already died When Shaikh Nizām-u'd-din showed the document to Shaikh Jamāl, he was immensely delighted and recited the following couplet

خدائی جہان را ہزاران سپاس
کہ گوہر سپردہ بگوہر شناس

(Thousands of thanks to the Lord of the Universe that the jewel has been assigned to one who knows its value)

Siyar-u'l-Auliyā, pp 116-117

[3] *Siyar-u'l-Auliyā*, pp 178-179

Badr-u'd-dīn Isḥāq to put his name also as the scribe of the document in order to prevent forgery by unscrupulous persons[1]

Maulānā Fakhr-u'd-dīn Ṣafāhānī's case is very significant in this connection He was a prominent figure of Bilgrām He sent a saint, Dā'ūd, to Shaikh Farīd to request him on his behalf to grant him a *Khilāfat Nāmah* "People pester me for the mystic cap," he said in his message Shaikh Farīd refused to accede to his request Dā'ūd stayed on in the *Jamā'at Khānah* and approached some dear disciples of the Shaikh for recommending his case Shaikh Nizām-u'd-dīn Auliyā and the saint's son, Maulānā Shihāb-u'd-dīn pleaded for the grant of *Khilāfat Nāmah* to Maulānā Fakhr-u'd-dīn but the Shaikh firmly declined with the remark

"این کار حق است بآرزو نیست، هرکه قابل باشد باخواستم بیابد"

(This is Divine Work and cannot be assigned to (everyone) who desires it The qualified one gets it without asking for it)

Shaikh Nizām-u'd-dīn Auliyā did not persist in his request at that time but later on, finding the Shaikh in a generous mood he repeated his request The Shaikh accepted his recommendation and granted *Khilāfat* to Maulānā Ṣafāhānī Shaikh Nizām-u'd-dīn Auliyā tells us that the Maulānā could not achieve any success in his work because the Shaikh had conferred *Khilāfat* on him under pressure and very reluctantly[2]

Bābā Farīd was opposed to the practice of becoming the *murīd* of a dead saint by wearing a cap at his grave One of his sons once went to the grave of Shaikh Quṭb-u'd-dīn Bakhtiyār Kākī, shaved his head and declared that he had become a disciple of the great saint When Bābā Farīd heard about this he declared emphatically

"شیخ قطب الدین خواجه و مخدوم ما است - اما این بیعت درست نباشد - ارادت و بیعت آنست که دست شیخی گیرند"[3]

(Shaikh Quṭb-u'd-dīn is my spiritual guide and master, but this form of initiation is not proper Initiation and discipleship means that one should grasp the hand of a Shaikh)

The success of Bābā Farīd's spiritual discipline lay in the extraordinary qualities of his head and heart His keen intuitive intelligence

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[1] *Siyar u'l-Auliyā*, p 221

Consequently, the *Khilāfat Nāmahs* of Shaikh Farīd contained the following words

"زبرت هذه الأسطر بعون الله على يد اضعف الفقير الى الله الغنى اسحاق بن علي بن اسحاق الدهلوى مشافهة"

Siyar-u'l-Auliyā, p 118

[2] *Siyar-u'l-Auliyā*, pp 345-346

[3] *Fawā'id-u'l Fu'ād*, p 78 Amīr Khurd quotes the last sentence, thus

"بیعت آنست که دست شیخی که ظاهر حی باشد گیرند"

Siyar-u'l-Auliyā, p 326

(*nafs-i girā*) helped him in reaching the inner most recesses of a disciple's heart. A casual glance at a *murid's* face revealed his weakness and strength to him. With this sharp and penetrating insight into human nature, Bābā Farid proved to be a teacher *par excellence*[1]. He helped his disciples in developing their morally autonomous personalities. To assist a person in attaining to his full spiritual and moral stature is a very difficult task. Sympathy, love, understanding, tact and occasional severity alone can ensure this. Bābā Farid had all these qualities and many more. The following anecdotes will give some idea of his deep understanding of human nature.

(1) Shaikh Nizām-u'd-din Auliyā reached Ajodhan after having won his laurels in the highest academic circles of Dehli. He was an excellent debator and was known as *Nizām-u'd-din Mahfil Shikan*. One day the Shaikh was teaching the *'Awārif-u'l-Ma'ārif* to his disciples. His manuscript had some copyist's mistakes and so he had to proceed slowly and in a halting manner, correcting the mistakes and removing the inaccuracies. Shaikh Nizām-u'd-din, interrupting the Shaikh, said that Shaikh Najib-u'd-din Mutawakkil had a good manuscript of the book. Shaikh Farid was irritated and annoyed. "Has this *durwesh* no capacity of correcting a defective manuscript?" he exclaimed repeatedly. When Shaikh Nizām-u'd-din realised that his master had disapproved of his remarks, he fell at his feet and humbly begged him to forgive his insolence. But Shaikh Farid's anger did not subside. Shaikh Nizām-u'd-din was overtaken by deep grief. In a mood of extreme mental depression he even thought of committing suicide. He went into the wilderness, weeping and crying. Shaikh Farid's son, Nizām-u'd-din, who was a close friend of Shaikh Nizām-u'd-din Auliyā, was deeply touched by this condition of his friend and he interceded on his behalf and secured the Shaikh's pardon. Shaikh Farid called his disciple nearer and said: "All this I have done for your perfection ... A *pir* is a dresser of brides (مشاطه)"[2]

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[1] Shaikh Farid watched the lives of his disciples carefully and whenever there was an opportunity of teaching them a lesson, he was not the man to miss it. (i) One day an intelligent and well-read student, Sharf-u'd-din, came to see him. "What about your studies?" enquired Shaikh Farid. "Now I have forgotten everything," replied Sharf-u'd-din. The Shaikh found in this reply detestable signs of intellectual arrogance and when the visitor had left, he turned to his disciples and said: "This man displayed pride". *Fawā'id-u'l-Fu'ād*, p. 80.

(ii) Once some six or seven young and handsome saints connected with the Chishti *Silsilah*, brought their disputes for arbitration to Shaikh Farid. The Shaikh called Shaikh Nizām-u'd-din Auliyā and Maulānā Badr-u'd-din Ishāq to his presence while they presented their case before him. The saints explained their differences with extreme courtesy and politeness. "That day you spoke like this. I submitted like this. Then you said this. I did not understand you and I wrongly replied like this." The other man replied in the same humble manner. This courtesy and politeness brought tears into the eyes of Shaikh Nizām-u'd-din Auliyā and Maulānā Badr-u'd-din Ishāq and they realized the Shaikh's aim in asking them to be present at that time. Shaikh Nizām-u'd-din Auliyā used to say: "They were angles of Truth sent to teach us as to how we should settle our disputes." *Fawā'id-u'l-Fu'ād*, p. 81.

[2] *Fawā'id-u'l-Fu'ād*, pp. 26-27.

Apparently Shaikh Nizām-u'd-dīn Auliyā's remark seems quite innocent, but the Shaikh's intuitive intelligence found in it a trace of that intellectual snobbishness which distinctions and laurels in the academic circles of Dehlī may have produced in him. To eleminate this he resorted to the severest rebuke possible.

(2) After completing his education at Dehlī Shaikh Nizām-u'd-dīn Auliyā turned to the culture of his soul and came to Ajodhan. One day he met an old companion and class-fellow. Shaikh Nizām-u'd-dīn's clothes were grimy and tattered. His friend was much surprised at this condition of a brilliant student who was expected to have a fine career. "Maulānā Nizām-u'd-dīn!" he exclaimed, "What misfortune has befallen you? Had you taken to the teaching profession at Dehlī, you would have become the leading scholar of the time and would have prospered." Shaikh Nizām-u'd-dīn did not give any reply. He came to his master and told him all that had happened. "What would be your answer to such a question?" asked Shaikh Farīd. "As the Shaikh directs," replied Shaikh Nizām-u'd-dīn. "Tell him," Shaikh Farīd replied:

نه همرهی تو مرا، راه خویش گیر، برو
ترا سعادت بادا، مرا نگون ساری

(You are not my fellow-travellor. Follow your path. Get along. May prosperity be your share in life and misfortune mine.)

The Shaikh then asked his disciple to order a tray of every variety of food from his kitchen and carry them on his head to his friend.[1]

The incident is simple but has its significance. It rooted out once for ever any desire for the easy and comfortable life of *shughl* (government service) that might have lingered on in the mind of Shaikh Nizām-u'd-dīn Auliyā, and made clear to him the fact that the requirements of the life he had chosen for himself were entirely different from the life his friend was leading or wanted him to lead.

(3) Maulānā Badr-u'd-dīn Ishāq was a man of very intense mystic emotions. At times he was completely lost in his trances and tears flowed constantly from his eyes. One day Shaikh Farīd asked him to lead the prayer. Maulānā Ishāq, instead of reciting the *Qur'ān*, chanted a Persian verse and fell down unconscious. When he recovered his senses, Bābā Farīd again ordered him to lead the prayer and to behave properly.[2] One day the Shaikh called him, but he was so deeply lost in his mystic contemplation that he did not respond. The Shaikh became angry and when the Maulānā came to him, he said: "All your previous prayers and devotion have been lost. Busy yourself in your work again.[3]" Bābā

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[1] *Siyar-u'l-Auliyā*, p. 239.

[2] *Siyar-u'l-Auliyā*, p. 172. The following verse was recited by him:

پیش سیاست غمش روح چه نطق نمیزند   ای ز هزار صعوه کم پیش تو وا چه میزنی

[3] *Siyar-u'l-Auliyā*, p. 177.

Farid was a believer in the life of *Sahv* (Sobriety) and he could not allow his disciples to develop interest in the life of uncontrolled ecstacy

A KHILĀFAT NĀMAH

Fortunately for us, Amir Khurd has copied the *Khilāfat Nāmah* which was given by Shaikh Farid to his disciple Shaikh Nizām-u'd-din Auliyā It throws sufficient light on the aims and objects of the mystics in granting *Khilāfat Nāmahs* to their successors

" In the name of God, Most Gracious and Most Merciful. He alone deserves all praises He is the First and the Last, the Appearance and the Reality Whomsoever He elevates none can bring down and whomsoever He throws down none can elevate None can bring to light what He has concealed and none can conceal whatever He has revealed And Blessings on the holy Prophet Muhammad and on his descendants, Companions and others I declare after praise of God and His Prophet that the study of the sciences of the *Hadith* opens the heart of the people and gives light to him who studies it In *'Ilm-i-Uṣūl* the best book is the *Tamhīd-u'l-Muhtadī* of Abū Shakūr This book has been studied under me, lesson by lesson, from the beginning to the end, minutely, attentively, carefully and thoroughly by the dutiful son, pious, the *imām* of the age, Niẓām-u'l-Millat-w'ad-Din Muhammad bin Ahmad, who is an adornment of the *imāms* and scholars and the pride of the holy and the virtuous, May God bless him with the desire of submission to Him and be merciful to him While teaching him I found him capable, talented, well-behaved and goodmannered I now permit him to teach this book to students, provided he avoids mistakes in teaching, writing and explaining and utilises his energy and knowledge in deliberation, correcting the manuscript and the purification of the language This letter of permission was written by the order of the Shaikh of the Shaikhs of the world, may God ever protect his honour and prestige, and was written by the humble slave of God, Ishāq son of 'Ali son of Ishāq, a resident of Dehli, on Wednesday in the month of Ramaḍān, in the presence of the Shaikh of the Shaikhs of the world

" I also permit Nizām-u'd-din to narrate things which he has learnt or heard from me and has collected and preserved He should follow the right course and may blessings be on him. I also permit him to adopt isolation in some mosque, in which prayers are offered in congregation The basis of this isolation is the tradition of the Prophet '*Live in the world like a traveller or a wayfarer and count yourself among the dead*' Consequently, the person who, in accordance with this tradition has made up his mind and summoned up his courage, is permitted to adopt seclusion, provided he controls the cravings of the flesh and thinks himself non-existent and weak, and renounces the world and its attractions. He must also have aknowledge of the harm of worldly ambition

and temptations. The time of such a recluse becomes adorned with various devotions when his *nafs* (lower soul) is prevented from coming back to the ordinary devotions from the higher devotions If the struggle wears him out, he should calm his passions either by religious devotions or by sleeping for a while, for this pacification prevents the supremacy of the passions One should abstain from idle seclusion because this makes one's heart neglectful May God protect Nizām-u'l-Haqq-wad-dīn from such evils and guide him aright *Nizām-u'd-dīn is really my successor and deputy in things worldly and religious, and obedience to him is obedience to me.* May God be kind to them who show respect and honour to Nizām-u'd-dīn, whom I honour and for whom I have great regard If anyone does not respect him, may God disgrace him. All these words are from *faqīr* Mas'ūd[1] "

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[1] *Siyar-u l-Auliyā*, pp 117-119

CHAPTER XIX

Attitude Towards The State

Muslim mystics of the early middle ages, particularly those belonging to the Chishtī *Silsilah*, severed all direct contacts with the government of the time and developed an attitude of contemptuous indifference towards it.[1] This attitude embodied the reaction of the religious minded Mussalmāns to the worldliness of the rulers and their un-Islamic ways They noticed with disgust and dismay the spectacle of Muslim rulers drifting away from the ideals of Islām and wallowing in the mud and mire of sordid materialism To them Islām conneted something nobler and higher than these rulers conceived it to be Islām did not come as a force for the founding of empires, but to ennoble man and to enable him to realise the best in him. Since the governing classes had relegated that ideal to the background, the mystics turned their backs on the state They could bow their knees before Islam but not before thrones The days when service of the State meant service of Islam were dead and gone Now the state stood for class interests and the mystic was not prepared to serve those interests and direct the energies of a world force into the parochial channels of dynastic ambitions.

Besides, it was believed that *shughl* and *jāgīrdārī* were fetters that ate into the soul They retarted the pace of spiritual progress and exercised a morbid influence on the healthy development of the cosmic emotion in man True to the long established traditions of higher mysticism, Bābā Farīd developed an attitude of complete indifference towards the government of the day His clear and unequivocal advice to his disciples was —

لو اردتم بلوغ درجة الكبار فعليكم بعدم الالتفات الى ابناء الملوك

(If you desire elevation in your spiritual ranks, do not mix with the princes of the blood).

Throughout his long life he stuck to this principle with remarkable determination and sincereity Neither continued starvation nor the allurements of court-life could change his attitude towards the government of the day. From the death of Iltutmish to the rise of Balban there was a general laxity in the administration, and politicians and theologians vied with each other in dabbling in the affairs of the state. Eminent

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[1] For a detailed discussion of the problem, see the author's article "*Early Indo-Muslim Mystics and Their Attitude Towards The State*" *Islamic Culture*, Volumes XXII, XXIII, XXIV.

theologians and divines had chosen the life of politicians and were weltering in the dirty waters of politics. Bābā Farīd never deviated from the path he had chosen for himself. Men who came to seek his spiritual guidance were advised by him to give a wide berth to the rulers and the bureaucracy. When Sayyidī Maulā sought his permission to leave Ajodhan and to go to Dehlī, he half-heartedly permitted him saying

" اما یک نصیحت من نگه داری - با ملوک و امراء اختلاط نه کنی -
و آمد و شد ایشان را در خانه خود از مهلکات تصور کنی که هر درویشی
که در اختلاط با ملوک و امراء بکشاید عاقبت او وخیم گردد "[1]

(But keep in mind my one advice Do not associate with kings and nobles Regard their visits to your house as calamities Every *durvesh* who opens the door of association with kings and nobles is doomed)

Sayyidī Maulā disregarded the advice of the great saint and he had to pay a heavy penalty for it.[2]

Though living in a small and obscure town, Bābā Farīd's spiritual eminence attracted ministers and high government officers to his *Khānqah* Once Sulṭān Nāṣir-ū'd-dīn expressed his desire to visit the Shaikh, but Ulūgh Khān (later known as Ghiyāth-u'd-dīn Balban) prevailed upon him to give up the idea as he did not want the Sulṭān to establish contact with the saint The shrewd minister told him that there was scarcity of water in Ajodhan while the number of the soldiers in the army was too large He thus induced the Sulṭān to send him as his representative Ulūgh Khān kissed the Shaikh's feet and placed before him the royal gifts which consisted of a grant (*mithāl*) of four villages and some cash 'What is this ?" enquired the Shaikh as Ulūgh Khān placed the royal presents before him 'Here is some cash and here is a *mithāl* of four villages which I have brought for you The cash is for the *durveshes* and the *mithāl* is for you " Ulūgh Khān submitted The Shaikh smiled and said "Give this cash to me I will distribute it among the *durveshes* But take away this *mithāl* There are many who desire it Give it to them [3]"

Whenever the Shaikh accepted any cash he distributed it at once amongst the needy and the poor He did not keep anything in his *Khānqah* even for a single night A story mentioned in the *Jawāhir-i-Farīdī* very neatly illustrates the Shaikh's practice Once Balban sent a

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[1] *Tārīkh-i-Fīrūz Shāhī* p 207

[2] For details of the incident, see Baranī, *Tārīkh-i-Fīrūz Shāhī*, p 212 'Iṣāmī *Futuh-us-Salāṭīn*, pp 210-213 See also Professor Shaikh 'Abd-u'r Rashīd's excellent article on Sulṭān Jalāl-u d-dīn Fīrūz Shāh Khaljī in the *Muslim University Journal*, 1931, pp 139 141

[3] *Fawā'id-u'l-Fu'ād*, p 99
Siyar u'l-Auliyā, pp 79-80

tray of *tankahs* to him. The saint accepted the offer afte
reluctance and ordered Maulānā Badr-u'd-dīn Isḥāq to dist
once amongst the poor The sun had already set and it
the Shaikh could not wait for the day His *Jamā'at Khā*
storehouse of presents from the king Maulānā Badr u'd-
orders of his Shaikh and began to disburse the money amon
people Having finished the work, he brought the can
see whether any coin remained there He found a coin
it in his cap to deliver it to some poor fellow in the n
afterwards Bābā Farīd went to the mosque to lead the
Three times he began the prayer and then discontin
was something which weighed heavily on his heart and
concentration of his mind "Maulānā Badr-u'd-din," inte
Farīd, "Have you distributed all that money?" "Yes," re
Badr-u'd-dīn, "but one coin remains" Bābā Farīd ang
that coin and threw it away, and then peacefully led th
Asghar Chishtī adds that throughout the night Bābā F
why he had touched that coin [1]

During the period of his prime-ministership Balban
anxious to secure the throne Eager to seek spiritua
fulfilment of this desire, which secretly tormented his h
to the Shaikh The saint, whose intuition had revealed to
of Ulūgh Khān's heart, at once recited the quatrain

فرخ فرشته نبود   ز عود و ز عنبر سرشته نبود
ی یافت آن خسروی   تو داد و دهش کن فریدون توئی

(Faridun, the blessed, was not an angel, he w
of agallochum or ambergris He attained that positi
through his bounty and liberality Thou shouldest b
and Faridun is thee) [2]

It is said that Balban had great faith in the saint [3]
or devotion could not, in any way, influence the saint's ou
towards the Sultān Once a man who was in great dis
the Shaikh to write a letter of recommendation to the S
not the Shaikh's practice to write recommendatory letter

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[1] *Jawāhir-i-Farīdī*, (MS)

Shaikh Niẓām-u'd-dīn Auliyā refers to a saint Khwāja Kar
touch any coin after taking up *faqīrī* *Fawā'id-u'l-Fu'ād*, p 11

[2] *Siyar-u l-Auliyā*, pp 81-82

[3] *Maṭlūb-u'ṭ-Ṭālibīn*, (MS)

The author of *Siyar-u'l-Aqṭāb* tells us that once Sulṭān Ghiy
to see the Shaikh Thousands of people gathered in the *Khānq*
got annoyed A mysterious voice advised him not to be annoye
visitors Thereafter the Shaikh never refused interview to any
ever show any annoyance when thronged by visitors (p. 167)

or the officials. He avioded it, but when the person insisted he did not deem it proper to injure his feelings. He wrote the following letter:

رفعت قصته الی الله ثم الیک فان اعطیته شیئا فالمعطی هو الله و انت المشکور و ان لم تعطه شیا فالمانع هو الله وانت المعذور[1]

(I referred his matter first to God and then to you. If you will grant anything to him, the real Giver is God but you will get the credit for it. If you do not give him anything, the real preventer is God and you are helpless in the matter.)

Every word of this brief letter is dignified and shows the extent to which the Shaikh maintained the dignity of religion and mysticism before worldly powers.

A POPULAR BUT INCORRECT STORY

'Alī Asghar Chishtī says that Shaikh Farīd had married a daughter of Sulṭān Ghiyāth-u'd-dīn Balban.[2] He gives a long account of the marriage and the relations between the Shaikh and the Sulṭān. Later writers have copied this account uncritically and now, the story has assumed the sanctity of an unchallengeable tradition in the *Khānwādah-i-Farīdiyah*. There are strong reasons for disbelieving this story.

First, no contemporary historian refers to it. There are several passages in the *Tārīkh-i-Fīrūz Shahī* of Ḍiā-u'd-dīn Baranī where one feels that had it been a fact, Baranī would have surely mentioned it. Secondly, the author of *Siyar-u'l-Auliyā* who belonged to a family closely associated with the Shaikh, does not mention this fact at all, though he has referred to some minor incidents of Balban's faith and respect for Bābā Farīd. Had it been true he would have never ommitted it. The *Fawā'id-i Fu'ād*, the *Khair-u'l-Majālis* and the *Ahsan-u l-Aqwāl* contain many important facts about the Shaikh's life but none refers to this marriage of the saint with the Sulṭan's daughter. Thirdly, the Shaikh who always advised his disciples to abstain from the society of princes and kings would never have preached honesty with a stolen goose in his armpit. It can, therefore, be definitely rejected as a later concoction fondly circulated by uncritical and superstitious minds.

SHER KHAN AND THE SHAIKH

Sher Khān, a cousin of Balban, was the governor of Multān. He was a gifted administrator and a valiant soldier. He protected the north-western frontier at a very critical moment in the history of this

[1] *Siyar-u'l-Auliyā*, p. 72.
[2] *Jawāhir-i-Farīdī*, (MS)

country. He had no faith in the saint and sometimes spoke ill about him. The Shaikh used to recite the couplet .

افسوس کہ از حال منت نیست خبر

آنگہ خبرت شود کہ افسوس خوری[1]

(Alas ! You have no knowledge of my condition When you will come to know, what will be use of being sorry).

The Shaikh's sayings, as quoted in the *Siyar-u'l-Auliyā*, contain numerous precepts for the general public One and only one advice is given to the political authorities

ملک بوزیر خدا ترس ضبط کن[2]

(Entrust the country to a God-fearing *wazīr*).

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[1] *Fawā'id-u'l-Fu'ād*, p 221

[2] *Siyar-u'l-Auliyā*, p 77

CHAPTER XX

Relations with the Non-Muslims

With the settlement of the Mussalmāns in India conciliation and concord between the various culture-groups was not only a moral and intellectual demand but an urgent social necessity The conquerors had established their political supremacy by virtue of certain moral and physical qualities, but they could not continue to rule while the majority of their subjects differed from them in race, language, religion and culture The orthodox theologians, conservative and reactionary as they were, rarely appreciated the change in the mood of the time and seldom tried to reconstruct their religious thought according to the needs of the hour The Muslim mystics, however, rose to the occasion and released syncretic forces which liquidated social, ideological and linguistic barriers between the various culture-groups of India and helped in the development of a common cultural outlook As their *Khānqahs* were the only places where people of different shades of opinion, professing different religions and speaking different languages met, these *Khānqahs* became veritable centres of cultural synthesis where ideas were freely exchanged and a common medium for this exchange was evolved

Shaikh Farīd-u'd-dīn Mas'ud Ganj-i-Shakar is the first Indo-Muslim saint about whose contacts with the Hindu religious thinkers and religious discussions with them we have clear and definite information. Hindu *Jogis*[1] used to visit his *jamā'at Khānqah* very frequently and the inmates sometimes discussed interesting problems with them Shaikh Nizām-u'd-dīn Auliyā twice met Hindu *Jogis* in his *Jamā'at Khānah*[2] He discussed with them the two elements in human nature—the spiritual and the animal The exposition of the Hindu ideas on the subject was much appreciated by Shaikh Nizām-u'd-dīn

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[1] The word *Jogī* or *Yogī* means a student of the Yoga school of philosophy, which teaches how, by suppression of the breath, mental abstraction, and the like one can obtain supernatural powers of divination, second sight etc They were worshippers of Siva, and were divided into two groups—the *Kanphatta Jogīs* (also known as *Darshanas*) and *Augar Jogīs* The former used to pierce their ears They buried their dead in a sitting posture For details, see Wilson, *Sects of the Hindus*, p 130 *et seq* Ibbetson, *Panjab Castes*, pp 228 235 Bhattacharaya, *Hindu Castes and Sects* pp 371, 399-400, 236 Some Jogī families may still be found in Pakpattan *Panjab District Gazetteers*, Vol XVIII B, p XXIX

[2] *Fawā'id-u'l-Fu'ād*, pp 84-85, 245

Auliyā.[1] On another occasion a Hindu *Jogī* explained to him his views about the birth and character of children, relationship between wife and husband and other similar subjects.[2]

In what language did the Shaikh converse with the Hindu *Jogīs*? Obviously all these conversations must have been carried in the earliest form of Urdu, i.e. *Hindwī*. We have more than one evidence of the Shaikh speaking in Hindwī.[3] In fact the *khānqah* of Bābā Farīd was one of the earliest cradles of the Urdu language.[4]

It is for the first time in the accounts of Shaikh Farīd that we find a reference to the *Kāfirān-i-Siyah-Posh*.[5] It is stated in the *Ahsan-u'l-Aqwāl* on the authority of Shaikh Burhān-u'd-dīn Gharīb that the *Kāfirs* once visited the Shaikh *incognito* as Muslim *faqīrs*. The Shaikh welcomed

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[1] *Fawā'id-u'l-Fu'ād*, pp. 84-85. The Shaikh told his audience: "Once I was in the presence of the Great Shaikh in Ajodhan. A *Jogī* came. I asked him: "Which way do you follow? What is the real thing in your discipline?" He (the *Jogī*) replied: "Our science says that there are two worlds (*'ālam*) in the human *nafs*. One is the *'ālam-i-'Ulwī*, the other is the *'ālam-i-Siflī*. From head to navel it is *'ālam-i-'Ulwī* and from navel to feet it is *ālam-i-Siflī*. The way to discipline is that there is all sincerity, purity, good manners and good dealings in *'ālam-i-'Ulwī*. In *ālam-i-Siflī* there is observation, purity & chastity. I liked his conversation."

[2] *Fawā'id-u'l-Fu'ād*, p. 245.

[3] *Siyar-u'l-Auliyā*, pp. 183, 185, 194.

[4] See also, *The Sufis Work in the Early Development of Urdu Language*, Dr. Maulvī 'Abd-u'l Haqq, pp. 5-7.

[5] When Muslim political power extended to Afghanistān and India, the conquest took its usual paths along the great rivers and high ways, and for centuries the inaccessible recesses of the Hindukush remained untouched. The inhabitants practised their own religion and became known to the surrounding Muslim civilization as the *Siyah posh Kāfirs* of the Hindukush. Tīmūr tried twice to turn this region into a dependency (1399 A.D.). A marble pillar, not far from the fortress of Najil commemorates the victory of Tīmūr over the *Siyah Posh Kāfirs*. Ahmad Shāh unified Afghanistān, Dost Muhammad completed his work by annexing Ancient Bactria (1851), but Kāfiristān remained practically independent. In 1896 Amīr 'Abd-u'r Rahmān organized an expedition against them. Alexander Burnes writes about them in 1838: "They have no distinction of black and white Kāfirs that I could hear of, and one of the Kāfir informants assured me that his tribe looked upon all as brothers, who wore ringlets and drank wine. They have no books, nor is reading or writing known in the nation." *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, Vol. VII, p. 326.

Sir G. C. Robertson gives the following information: "The old division of Kafiristān into the countries held by the *Siah-Posh* and those inhabited by the *Safed Posh* was more convenient than scientifically correct. The *Siah-Posh*, the black-robed *Kāfirs*, are made up of several different tribes some of which have been at war with one another from time immemorial, but inspite of that, they have a good deal more in common than merely a resemblance in dress. They do not all speak the same language, but the difference in speech appears to be more a difference of dialect than a radical distinction of language. A convenient classification is to divide all *Kāfirs* into (1) *Siah-Posh*, (2) Waiguls, (3) Presunguls or Viron people ..." pp. 74-75. For interesting details about the *Siyah Posh Kāfirs*, see *the Kāfirs of the Hindukush*, Sir George Scott Robertson, (London 1900). A. Burnes's article "*On the Siah-Posh Kāfirs with specimens of their language and costume*" (*J.A.S.B.* 1838, pp. 325-333). *Afghanistan and its Late Amīr*, published by the Christian Literature Society for India, (London & Madras, 1902) pp. 12-13. Rolf Henkl's article. "*The Wooden Sculptures of Kāfiristan*" (*J.R.A.S.* Vol. XVI, No. I, 1950, pp. 65-72); Morgenstiern, "*Report on a Linguistic Mission to Afghanistān*" (Stockholm, 1935).

the party, but understood the game that the visitors were playing He asked his servant to take the leader of the party to a small room and lock him up but to give' food and water to the rest After three days Shaikh Farid visited the room of the leader and asked "Oh you! I will release you if you accept Islām" The Shaikh's observation must have sounded strange to his disciples in the *Jamā'at Khānah* as the visitor was already showing himself as a Mussalmān The leader promised to accept Islām When he came out he had the sacred thread of the Hindūs under the *Khirqah* of the Muslim mystics that he was wearing He told the Shaikh that he had visited the *langars* (kitchens) of Muslim saints of Khurāsān and Hindustān for 30 years, but none had ever been able to discover him.[1]

BĀBĀ FARĪD AND CONVERSION OF HINDUS TO ISLĀM

Did Bābā Farīd convert any Hindus to Islām ? Professor Muhammad Habīb has said in one of his articles that "converting non-Muslims was no part of the mission of Chishtī *Silsilah*[2]" He says that early mystic records (*malfūzāt* and *maktūbāt*) do not refer to a single case of conversion This, of course, is correct But the tradition in some of the tribes of the Punjāb is almost incontrovertible on this point The tribes laim[3] and have been claiming for centuries that their ancestors were converted to Islām by the great saint Their claim will hold good unless challenged on the basis of some positive historical evidence

The following tribes living in and around Pak-pattan claim to have been converted to Islām by Bābā Farid

1 *Siāl*
2 *Sarhangwāl.an*
3 *Bahliyān*
4 *Ad'hakān*
5 *Jhakarwahan*
6 *Bakkan*
7 *Hakan*
8. *Sian*
9. *Khokarān*
10 *Dhudhiyān.*
11. *Tobiyān*[4]

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[1] *Ahsan-u'l-Aqwāl*, MS
[2] *Islamic Culture*, April 1946, p 140
[3] E G See *Jawāhir-i-Farīdī*, concluding section
Hunter *Imperial Gazetteer of India*, Vol. X, p 534
[4] These tribes have been referred to by the author of the *Jawāhir-i-Farīdī*.

The *Siāl* tribe is one of the most important tribes of the Punjab. Steedman says that the modern history of the Jhang district is the history of the *Siāl*. About the antecedents of this tribe he writes "The *Siāl* are descended from Rai Shankar, a Punwar Rajput, a resident of Daranagar between Allahabad and Fattahpur A branch of the Punwars had previously emigrated from their native country to Jaunpur, and it was there that Rai Shankar was born One story has it that Rai Shankar had three sons, Seo, Teo, and Gheo, from whom have descended the Sials of Jhang, the Tiwanas of Shahpur and the Ghebas of Pindi Gheb Another tradition states that Sial was the only son of Rai Shankar, and that the ancestors of the Tiwanas and Ghebas were only collateral relations of Shankar and Sial On the death of Rai Shankar we are told that great dissensions arose among the members of the family, and his son Sial emigrated during the reign of Allauddin Ghori (?) to the Punjab It was at this time that many Rajput families emigrated from the Provinces of Hindustan to the Panjab, including the ancestors of the Kharrals, Tiwanas, Ghebas, Chaddhars, and Punwar Sials It was the fashion in those days to be converted to the Muḥammadan religion by the eloquent exhortations of the sainted Bawa Farid of Pak Pattan, and accordingly we find that Sial in his wanderings came to Pak Pattan and there renounced the religion of his ancestors "[1]

No definite information is available about the *Sarhangwālian* Is it possible to connect this tribe with Sarhangā whose devotion to Shaikh Farid has been discussed earlier ?[2]

The Khokars, the Dhudis and the Tobes were important tribes of the Punjāb. The Khokars are ordinarily considered a Rajput tribe. They are most numerous along the valleys of the Jhelum and Chunab, and specially in the Jhang and Shahpur districts[3] The Dhudis are a small Punwar clan found with their kinsmen — the Rathor — scattered along the Sutlej and the Chunab Their original seat is said to have been in the Mailsi *tahsil* of Multān[4] The Tobas generally belong to the Jhinwar and Macchi castes, and are often fishermen as well as sinkers

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[1] Steedman, *The Jhang Settlement report*, p 244, also Ibbetson, *Panjab Castes*, p 147-8, Lepel Griffin, *Panjab Chiefs*, p 502 *et seq* For the tradition about the conversion of the Sial tribe to Islām see *The Panjab Gazetteer*, Vol. II, p 207

[2] See Supra, p 34

[3] *Panjab Castes*, pp 172-173

Firishtah (Vol I, pp 59-60) says that the tribe of Khokhars was converted to Islām by Sulṭān Shihāb-u'd-dīn of Ghur Probably a part of the tribe was converted to Islām by him Bābā Farid too would have converted a part of the tribe, because even now the tribe is divided between the two religions See *Report on the Census of the Panjab*, pp 257-8 In 1911 there were 8,093 Muslim Khokhars in the Montgomery district, where Bābā Farid's influence is very great (*Panjab District Gazetteers*, Vol XVIII, B, 1913, p XXX)

[4] *Panjab Castes*, p 147 The total number of Dhudi Mussalmāns in the Montgomery District is given as 778 Of these 641 lived in Pak-Pattan *Panjab District Gazetteer*, Vol. XVIII, B, 1913, p. XXXII

and cleaners of wells.[1] The *Jhakars* are also a small caste, comprising of both Muslims and Non-Muslims.[2]

Some ceremonies at the shrine of Bābā Farīd on the occasion of his *'Urs* (Death Anniversary) show the deep attachment of some converted tribes to the great saint The ceremonial distribution of *Jillā* (small bread with *Halwah* on it) refers to the occasion when the Jalhora, a caste of fishermen, had joined the discipleship of the saint The *Jillā* is prepared by the women of the Macchī caste.[3]

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[1] *Panjab Castes*, p 264, also *Panjab District Gazetteer*, Vol XVIII B, p XXXIII

[2] *The Panjab District Gazetteer*, Vol XVIII, B, p XXXIV

[3] See also a small booklet on the *Urs* ceremonies at the shrine of Bābā Farīd, by Pīr Sayyid Imām 'Alī Shāh published in 1341 A H /1922 A D

CHAPTER XXI

Estimate

البدر يطلع من فريد جبينه : والشمس تغرب في شقائق خده
ملك الجمال بأسره فكأنما : حسن البرية كله من عنده[1]

Shaikh Farid expired in 1265 A D During the 688 years that have passed since his death, this sub-continent has witnessed countless political upheavals Innumerable rulers have appeared on and disappeared from the stage of history, empires have been set up and pulled down, civilisations have come and gone, but throughout these multitudinous changes his mausoleum has remained a place of deep veneration, love and devotion for the people Even Timūr, who, during his cyclonic invasion of India, carried sword and fire into every town that came in his way, spared Ajodhan, put his sword in the scabbard and respectfully presented himself at the shrine of the great saint.[2] Posterity has treasured his memory with love and respect.[3] Muslims, Hindus[4] and Sikhs[5] alike hold him in high esteem Accounts of travellers,[6] saints,[7] and kings[8] are full of respectful visits to his shrine.

So long as Bābā Farid lived he was the cynosure of public eyes. People visited him from far and near and basked in the sunshine of his spiritual favours. We find in his *Khānqah* visitors from Khurāsān,[9]

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[1] *Siyar-u'l-Auliyā*, p 58 These verses are taken from an old *qaṣīdah* written in praise of Shaikh Farid "The full moon rises from the forehead of Farid, and in the redness of his countenance the sun sets He is the king of Beauty The entire creation derives beauty from him"

[2] *Tārīkh-i-Firishtah*, I, p 156

[3] The town of Faridkot was named after him See M. Longworth Dame's article in *the Ency of Islām*, ii, p 67

David Ross, utterly ignorant of the Shaikh's life and character, writes "Bābā Farid is alleged to have been the head, if not the founder, of the Thaggs He is one of their patron saints Through the mystic agency of numerous Thagg bands he exercised great influence all over India and brought about extraordinary occurrences" *The Land of the Five Rivers and Sindh*, p 112 Such statements betray colossal ignorance of Muslim religious life and institutions of medieval India and should be treated with the contempt they deserve

[4] Munshi Mohan Lal writes about him in 1836 · "The Hindus of this country believe him to be an inspired man, and pay respect to his monument like the Mussalmāns" *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, October 1836, p. 637

[5] *Oriental College Magazine*, 1938-1939

[6] *Rihla Ibn Baṭṭuṭah*, Vol. II, pp 13-14, *Journal of Captain Wade's Voyage*, *J A S B* 1937, pp 192-3

[7] *Fawā'id-u'l-Fu'ād*, pp 75-173, *Takmilah Siyar-u'l-Auliyā*, p 112

[8] *Tārīkh-i-Firūz Shāhī*, 'Afīf, p 198, *Badā'ūni*, Vol II, p 133

[9] *Siyar-u'l-Auliya*, pp 63-64

Jurjān,[1] Dehli,[2] Uchch,[3] Nāgaur,[4] Multān,[5] Ajmer,[6] Buhār,[7] and Lakhnawtī[8] "There was no end to visitors," Shaikh Nizām-u'd-dīn Auliyā informs us, "the door of Shaikh Farīd's house was not closed till about midnight.[9]" These visitors included all sorts of men—ministers, *maliks*, soldiers, mystics, merchants, scholars, etc Those who knew him best loved him most, and none came into touch with his eager, sympathetic and beautiful nature without receiving an impulse to higher aims The hard hearted man of business and the fastidious man of letters were equally touched by his conversation and the charm of his character

It is difficult to imagine to-day the extent to which he was loved and revered by his disciples[10] They came from distant places to pass some days of spiritual bliss at the feet of their master and when they thought of going back to their homes their hearts ached[11] He was a model of moral and spiritual perfection for his disciples and they carefully noted every word and act of his and followed him according to their capacities

Disciples apart, eminent contemporary mystics held him in high esteem[12] Shaikh Bahā-u'd-dīn Zakarīyyā offered to exchange all his disciples for Shaikh Jamāl-u'd-dīn Hānswī a favourite disciple of the Shaikh[13] Shaikh Badr-u'd-dīn Ghaznawī once wrote to him in a letter

دریغا خاطرم گر جمع بودی   بمدحش کردمی گوهر فشانی

فریدالدین و ملت یار مهتر   که بادش در کرامت ره گشایی[14]

(Doubtless, had my heart been quiet and collected I would have scattered pearls of praise Farīd u'd-dīn wa-Millat is a great friend May his life be spent in bestowing spiritual gifts)

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[1] Sayyidī Maulā came from Jurjān to see the Shaikh

[2] *Fawā'id u'l-Fu'ād* p 215

[3] *Siyar-u'l Auliyā* p 81

[4] *Fawā'id u'l-Fu'ād* pp 10 189

[5] *Fawā'id u'l-Fu'ād* p 215

[6] *Fawā'id u'l-Fu'ād* p 238

[7] *Fawā'id u'l-Fu'ād*, p 57

[8] *Siyar-u'l Auliyā*, p 335

[9] *Fawā'id u'l-Fu'ād* p 71 *Siyar-u'l Auliyā* p 04

[10] For Shaikh Nizām-u'd-dīn Auliyā's love for him, see *Fawā'id u'l-Fu'ād* p 149 Also his couplets in praise of Shaikh Farīd as quoted by Shaikh Abd u'l Wāhid Ibrāhīm in *Sab Sanābil*, p 57

[11] *Fawā'id u'l Fu'ād*, pp 156-157

[12] Qādī Hamīd u'd-dīn Nāgaurī an erudite scholar and a very respected saint of Dehli addressed him thus

'فقیر حقیر مدعی ضعیف محمد عطا کہ بندۂ درویشان است و از

سر و دیدہ ساب قدم ایشان '

Fawā'id-u'l-Fu'ād p 150

Allah Diyah says (*Siyar-u'l-Aqṭāb* p 162) that the name Farīd-u'd-dīn was given to him by the famous mystic poet Khwāja Farīd u'd-dīn 'Aṭṭār No earlier writer has referred to it and no reliance can be placed on it in view of the fact that Bābā Farīd was born in India and Khwāja 'Aṭṭār never visited this country

[13] *Gulzār-i-Abrār* (MS)

[14] *Fawā'id-u'l-Fu'ād*, p 150

It was due to his spiritual greatness and his reputation that a grandson of the founder of the Chishti *Silsilah* in India, Khwaja Wahid-u'd-din, requested him to admit him to his discipline[1] During the reign of Sultan Nasir-u'd-din Mahmud (1246-1266 A D) the Shaikh was an outstanding figure of all-India importance The following account of Amir Hasan will give some idea of his eminence and popularity In the month of Shawwal 651 A H /1252 A D Sultan Nasir-u'd-din marched towards Uchch and Multan In the way his soldiers decided to pay their respects to the great Shaikh When the soldiers flocked to the city all the streets and bazars of Ajodhan were blocked. How to meet and see the Shaikh? A sleeve of Baba Farid's shirt was hung up on a thoroughfare An ocean of humanity began to surge The sleeve was torn to pieces due to overcrowding. The Shaikh himself was so painfully mobbed that he requested his *murids* to encircle him in order to save his person from the eager public trying to elbow its way to him But an old *farrash* (a menial servant who spreads the carpets) who was not satisfied with merely offering *salam* from a distance, broke through into the circle and fell on the Shaikh's feet, pulled them towards himself, kissed them and exclaimed "Shaikh Farid! You feel annoyed and do not thank God for his blessings" The Shaikh began to weep. He thanked the *farrash* for his admonition and asked for his pardon.[2]

Baba Farid's greatness was the greatness of a loving heart. Day and night he attended to the problems of the misery-stricken people, assuaged their wounds, pulled up their hearts and infused new life and confidence in their broken nerves His sympathy gave them the courage they needed to face the ordeals of life Very different were the problems that they brought to him "I have many daughters, but have very meagre means I am worried about their marriage" "My brother is very seriously ill. He might have expired in the meantime"[3] "My

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[1] *Fawa'id-u'l-Fu'ad*, p 238

[2] *Fawa'id-u'l-Fu'ad*, pp 145-146

When the Shaikh visited Dehli after the death of his master, Shaikh Qutb-u'd-din Bakhtiyar Kaki, he was deluged by visitors and friends From the small hours of the morning till late into the night he had to attend to his visitors, and accept their invitations for feasts He had to start for Friday prayer much before time because it was difficult to reach the mosque in time for prayer due to large crowds of admirers on the way As he stepped out of his house, people eagerly rushed towards him, kissed his hands and encircled him No sooner did he manage to come out of this circle that he found himself encircled by another group He got rid of one circle to be enmeshed into another and this process went on until he reached the mosque tired and wearied One day he felt annoyed with the people who had surrounded him on his way to the mosque "This is a blessing of God," a disciple told him, 'why do you get annoyed?" *Fawa'id-u'l-Fu'ad*, p 145

[3] *Khair-u'l-Majalis*, p 147, *Siyar-u'l-Auliya*, pp. 85-86

officer is very harsh on me[1]." The Shaikh's heart went out in sympathy to everyone [2]

The Shaikh had taken upon himself the stupendous task of lifting up humanity from the pitfalls and quagmires of sin and superstition, and to this task he applied himself with remarkable zeal and singleness of purpose. From early morning till late into the night a stream of visitors flowed into his *Khānqah* He cheerfully welcomed everyone and never got sick of the visitors who brought to him tales of their misery.

The Shaikh was a living embodiment of those moral principles and precepts which he taught to the people Behind every ethical principle which he expounded there was the force of his own example. It was difficult, therefore, to resist the influence of his teaching.

Bābā Farīd did not like casuistical discussions His clear, frank and lucid exposition rarely left any room for debate He went to the heart of every problem and so when he ended his elucidation his opponent found himself convinced Arrogant and pedantic scholars were hypnotised by the Shaikh's power of conversation

The Shaikh had all those qualities of head and heart which were needed to build up an organization, a deep understanding of human nature combined with clarity of thought and intuitive intelligence Never did his mind err in assessing the real worth and value of a *murīd* He always selected the best men for the most difficult job When Shaikh Nizām u'd dīn Auliyā went to pay his respects to him at Ajodhan, he was in his nineties but all his mental and physical faculties were as sharp and alert as ever There was a large number of disciples round him, some quite old and experienced but he selected this newly arrived young man to succeed him And who can say that the choice was not sound!

Bābā Farīd passed his long life in extremely indigent circumstances. Clad in grimy and tattered clothes, living in a tumbling mud-house, he was proud of his poverty He could, had he ever so desired, lead a life of affluence and plenty The rulers were always there with *mithāls* of

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[1] *Fawā'id-u'l-Fu'ād*, p 147

[2] Sharf-u'd-dīn, a grandson of Qādī Hamīd-u'd-dīn Nāgaurī reached Ajodhan from Nāgaur to request the Shaikh to admit him into his discipline His slave-girl, whom he had purchased for a hundred *tankahs* gave him a handkerchief to be presented to the Shaikh on her behalf When Sharf u'd-dīn placed her present before the Shaikh, he remarked

خدایش آزادی دهد

(May God set her free)

The Shaikh's remark set Sharf-u'd-dīn thinking and after considerable mental deliberation he at last decided to set her free *Fawā'id-u'l-Fu'ād*, pp 188-189

Jāgirs, but the Shaikh preferred to starve rather than debase the traditions of higher mysticism and dishonour himself by chiming in with the moods of the rulers and indulging in political flattery. Continued starvation often brought his children to the verge of death, but Shaikh Farid, who had nerves of steel, stuck like a granite to his principles and allowed the storms to rage round him

What type of social order the Shaikh desired to be established in the world? His *Jamā'at Khānah* gives some idea of his social aims Every inmate of the *Jamā'at Khānah* had to work and contribute his share of labour towards the management of the household Whenever food was available every body had his equal share, no special dishes or preferential treatment was permitted for any one. All lived, studied, slept and prayed in a large room No discrimination, on any ground, not even on the basis of piety (*ittiqā*) was permitted to prevail in the *Jamā'at Khānah* All lived there with the same facilities and suffered from the same difficulties and misfortunes Let us not forget that it was the age of Balban when hideous distinctions were being perpetrated between man and man The Turkish aristocracy rolled in purple and enjoyed all the fruits of an expanding imperialism while the common people toiled and struggled ceaselessly for their bread The Sulṭān had so completely segregated himself from the commonalty that to long for an interview with him was to cry for the moon [1] As Khusraw had said [2]

هوس و رای امکان چه خیال فاسد است این
هوس جمال سلطان بدل گدا نشسته

The Sulṭān's hatred for men of low and obscure origin was so intense that he mercilessly dismissed them all from public offices [3] What a contrast to the ideals of Shaikh Farid! To him all human being were equal, 'made of the self-same clay', whatever their race, creed, colour or status Though within the political confines of the Sultanate of Dehli, the *Jamā'at-Khānah* of Shaikh Farid was not a part of the Dehli Empire It was at that time, the only place under the Indian sun where the Emperor of Hindustān and a penniless pauper were received in the same way The contamination of court life had not touched its spiritual serenity and classless atmosphere It was an oasis of love in a world of strifes and conflicts The Shaikh who presided over this *Jamā'at*

[1] *Tārikh-i-Firūz Shāhi*, Barani, pp 29-33

A rich Dehli merchant offered all his wealth for the honour of one interview with the Sulṭān, his ambition was never fulfilled

[2] This couplet occurs in *Ghurrat-u'l-Kamāl* (See *Dīwān-i-Amīr Khusraw*, p 406) It was composed at a time when Balban was fresh in the memory of the poet.

[3] *Tārikh-i-Firūz Shāhi*, pp 36-37

Balban reprimanded his prime minister, Niẓām-u'l-Mulk, and ordered an inquiry into his own descent because he had supported a man of an obscure origin on grounds of his experience and ability

Khānah was a tower of strength for the low born, the down trodden, the humble and the despised people whom he inspired and cheered in their struggle for existence—

> Struggler in life's weary battle,
> Though misfortune's lot you know
> Though your task be heavy,
> Sink not tamely down in woe

With these traditions of poverty, penitence, selfless devotion to the cause of humanity and eagerness for the moral and spiritual uplift of man, Shaikh Farid remains alike an example and an inspiration to all men for all time In the words of Shelley

> *"His fate and fame shall be*
> *An echo and a light unto eternity."*

APPENDIX A

Why Ganj-i-Shakar ?

Shaikh Nizām-u'd-dīn Auliyā has referred to his master full one hundred times in his conversations, the *Fawā'id-u'l-Fu'ād* It is surprising, that he has not used anywhere the title, '*Ganj-i-Shakar*' Later *tadhkirahs*, however, always call him *Ganj-i-Shakar* and give various reasons for this title

(i) The author of *Siyar-u'l-Auliyā* says that he was called '*Ganj-i-Shakar*' or '*Shakar-bār*' because some pebbles, which he had put into his mouth in extreme hunger due to continued fasts, had turned into sugar crystals, (pp 67-68).

(ii) Maulānā Jamālī says that one day Bābā Farīd went to see his master He was wearing wooden sandals and the roads were muddy due to rain He had been fasting for seven days and was extremely weak He slipped and fell on the ground. Some mud touched his mouth and instantly turned into sugar When he reached the residence of his master, the latter remarked .

"بابا فرید الدین مسعود! بدین پارهٔ گلی که در دهنت رسید و شکر گشت، عجب نیست که حضرت تبارک و تعالی وجود ترا گنج شکر گردانیده است، همواره شیرین خواهی شد"

(Bābā Farīd-u'd-dīn Mas'ūd ! A little mud that went into your mouth has turned into sugar No wonder if the Almighty turns your whole being into a treasure of sugar and keeps it always sweet)

Jamālī says that when Bābā Farīd returned from his master's house he heard people saying everywhere "Behold ! Shaikh Farīd, the *Ganj-i-Shakar* is coming" *Siyar-u'l-'Ārifīn*, pp. 46-47

(iii) One day a merchant came to Ajodhan in order to see the Shaikh He was carrying sugar with him The Shaikh asked him for some sugar The merchant replied that he had salt, not sugar, with him. "It shall be salt," was Bābā Farīd's reply. On opening the sacks the merchant found, to his great surprise, that there was all salt in them. He rushed to the Shaikh and begged for his pardon and its reconversion into sugar. The Shaikh's prayers turned the salt into sugar. From that time the Shaikh came to be known as *Ganj-i-Shakar*. Bairam

Khān Khān-i-Khānān who had great faith in Bābā Farīd thus refers to this incident in a couplet

کانِ نمک، جہانِ شکر، شیخِ بحر و بر
آن کز شکر نمک کند و از نمک شکر

(Mine of Salt, World of Sugar, Lord of Ocean and Earth who turns sugar into salt and salt into sugar) *Akhbār-u'l-Akhyār*. pp 52-53

(iv) Muhammad Ghauthī says that one day the Shaikh met some *Banjāras*[1] who were carrying sugar The Shaikh asked them as to what they were carrying Fearing lest the saint might demand something they replied that they were carrying salt "It will be salt," said the Shaikh The sugar at once turned into salt The *Banjāras* repented and the Shaikh converted it again into sugar *Gulzār-i-Abrār*, MS

(v) Bābā Farīd was very fond of sugar in his childhood Once his mother told him 'God sends sugar to that boy who punctually offers his morning prayers," and began to keep a small packet of sugar under his pillow every night When Bābā Farīd offered his prayers in the morning he found that packet under his pillow When Bābā Farīd reached his twelfth year his mother stopped putting that packet, but the packet continued to reach him from the divine source His mother did not know about this Once she asked him whether he was receiving that sugar She was taken by surprise when she received the reply in affirmative She made a careful inquiry and was convinced that the gift came from the divine source *Tarikh-i-Firishtah*, Vol II, p 338.

Whatever the reason, the saint is known and remembered today as *Ganj-i Shakar* In this book I have called him either Shaikh Farīd, following Shaikh Nizām-u d-dīn Auliyā, or Bābā Farīd, following Shaikh 'Alā-u'd-dīn Ajodhanī

[1] The term *Banjara*, derived from *banij* 'a trader' or perhaps from *banji* "a pedlar's pack" is used for travelling traders For details, see *Panjab Castes*, pp 254 255, *Races of the North Western Provinces of India* Vol I pp 52-56

APPENDIX B

Apocryphal Malfuz Literature attributed to Shaikh Farid-u'd-din Mas'ud Ganj-i-Shakar

The following works are generally attributed to Shaikh Farid

(1) *Fawā'id-u's-Salakīn,* alleged to have been the *malfūz* of Khwāja Quṭb-u'd-dīn Bakhtiyār Kākī compiled by Shaikh Farīd-u'd-dīn

(2) *Asrār-u'l-Auliyā,* alleged to be the *malfūz* of Bābā Farīd, compiled by Shaikh Badr-u'd-dīn Isḥāq

(3) *Rāḥat-u'l-Qulūb,* alleged to be the *malfūz* of Bābā Farīd, compiled by Shaikh Nizām-u'd-dīn Auliyā

Both internal as well as external evidence militates against the theory of their genuineness Professor Muḥammad Habīb has shown in his thought-provoking article *"Chishtī Mystic Records of the Sultanate Period,"* (*Medieval India Quarterly,* Vol I No 2, pp 1-43) that all this literature is fabricated and cannot be used, with any justification, for reconstructing the lives or teachings of the Chishtī saints

(1) Amīr Hasan records on Wednesday, 15 Muḥarram 709 A.H. (June 1309 A D) in his *Fawā'id-u'l-Fu'ād* "A friend was present. He said, "A man showed me a book in Awadh and said it was written by you Shaikh Nizām-u'd-dīn replied· "He spoke wrongly. I have not written any book" تفاوت گفته است من هیچ کتابی نه نوشته ام p 45.

In view of this statement the *Rāḥat-u'l-Qulūb* may safely be rejected as a fabrication

(2) Hamīd Qalandar records in his *Khair-u'l-Majālis* "A friend represented "There is a difficulty in the *malfūz* of Shaikh 'Uthmān Harvanī It is this " Shaikh Naṣīr-u'd-dīn replied "These *Malfūz* are not his. I have also come across this manuscript, there are many statements in it which are not worthy of his conversations Shaikh-u'l-Islām Farīd-u'd-dīn, nor Shaikh-u'l-Islām Quṭb-u'd dīn nor the Chishtī saints nor any of the preceding Shaikhs of my order has written any book."

"این ملفوظ ایشان نیست - این نسخها بر من هم رسیده است و دران بسیار الفاظ است که مناسب اقوال ایشان نیست .. خدمت شیخ نظام الدین می فرمود که من هیچ کتابی نه نوشته ام، زیرا که خدمت شیخ الاسلام فرید الدین و شیخ الاسلام قطب الدین و خواجگان چشت قدس الله ارواحهم و از مشایخ شجرهٔ ما هیچ شیخی تصنیف نه کرده است" *Khair-u'l-Majālis*, p. 52.

These are the statements and verdicts of those saints who were the real inheritors of the spiritual legacy and traditions of Bābā Farīd. The

fact that they considered this literature as fake and fiction is sufficient for their rejection as unreliable

(3) The following passage from the conversations of Sayyid Muḥammad Gēsū Darāz throws considerable light on the *malfūz* attributed to S̲h̲aikh Farid-u'd-dīn

> ملفوظی از آن شیخ فریدالدین در اجودهن دیدم که آن را نسبت
> بر مولانا بدرالدین اسحاق می کنند – سر بسر همه افترا است می گویند
> جمع کردهٔ مولانا بدرالدین اسحاق نیست "

(I saw in Ajodhan a *malfūz* of S̲h̲aikh Farid-u'd-dīn, (the compilation of which) is attributed to Maulānā Badr-u'd-dīn Isḥāq It is altogether a fabrication It is said that it was not compiled by Maulānā Badr-u'd dīn Isḥāq) *Jawāma'-u'l-Kilam*, p 134

It is futile, after this observation, to bestow any care on the *Asār-u'l-Auliyā*

(4) S̲h̲āh 'Abd-u'l 'Azīz, the famous *Muḥaddith* of Dehlī, considered this literature unreliable It is recorded in his conversations

> " کتاب فوائد الفواد نهایت معتبر است مگر دیگر ملفوظات مشتبه است "

(The book *Fawā'id-u'l-Fu'ad* is very reliable but other *malfūzāt* are doubtful) *Malfūzāt-i-'Azīzi*, p. 81

Apart from this external evidence, we have sufficient reason to reject this literature as fake on the basis of strong internal evidence Let us examine each work separately –

(A) *The Fawā'id-u's-Salakīn* (i) The conversations are recorded for five days in 584 A H (1186 A D) The date is absurd (ii) Bābā Farīd is made to refer to himself as Mas'ūd Ajodhanī Thus too is absurd He did not settle at Ajodhan till years afterwards (iii) S̲h̲aikh Quṭb-u'd-dīn Bakhtiyār Kākī is made to state that when he and S̲h̲aikh Hamīd were circumambulating the Ka'bah they met a slave of K̲h̲wāja Abū Bakr S̲h̲iblī A slave of S̲h̲aikh S̲h̲iblī would have had to be about 250 or 300 years old at the time of K̲h̲wāja Quṭb-u'd-dīn (iv) Sulṭān S̲h̲ams-u'd-dīn Iltutmis̲h̲ is made to attack the territory of Rai Pithaura and take him alive (v) We know on the authority of *Fawā'id-u'l Fu'ād* that K̲h̲wāja Quṭb-u'd dīn died owing to the effects of *Sama'* (mystic music) Here the S̲h̲aikh is made to survive the emotional strain after enjoying it for seven days.

(B) *The Asrār-u'l-Auliyā* (i) The conversations cover the period from 1233 A D to 1246 A D Maulānā Badr-u'd-dīn Isḥāq had not yet met S̲h̲aikh Farīd-u'd dīn (ii) The *malfūz* is a monologue The audience sits like blocks of stone Genuine *malfūzāt* like the *Fawā'id-u'l-Fu'ād* and the *K̲h̲air-u'l-Majālis* give the impression of a living and breathing audience. The discussions of the saints are broken and punctuated by intelligent

questions of the audience. In the *Asrār-u'l-Auliyā* all the telling is done by the Shaikh and when he finishes the discourse the audience disperses. (iii) Bābā Farid met Shaikh Jalāl-u'd-din Tabrizi in Kahtwāl. In this *malfūz* the Shaikh meets Shaikh Tabrizi in Baghdād. (iv) In a book finished in 1246 A D Bābā Farid is made to refer to his younger brother as "This well-wisher had a brother, named Najib-u'd-din Mutawakkil." Shaikh Najib died only a few months before the death of Bābā Farid. (v) We know definitely that Bābā Farid never visited Badā'ūn But here he is taken to Badā'ūn and made to bless the boy, Shaikh 'Usūli, who later on became the teacher of Shaikh Nizām-u'd-din Auliyā (vi) Shaikh Badr-u'd-din Ghaznawi and Shaikh Nizām-u'd-din Auliyā are brought face to face in an audience of Bābā Farid Shaikh Badr-u'd-din Ghaznawi died long before Shaikh Nizām-u'd-din Auliyā joined the discipline of Bābā Farid

(C) *The Rāḥat-u'l-Qulūb*, (i) We know from other contemporary works that Bābā Farid gave his *Khilāfat Nāmah* to Shaikh Nizām-u'd-din Auliyā when the latter visited him for the last time. In this *malfūz*, the saint is made to promise the kingdom of Hindustān to Shaikh Nizām-u'd-din in the very first meeting (ii) Shaikh Badr-u'd-din Ghaznawi and Qāḍi Hamid-u'd-din Nāgauri are made to attend some meetings of the Shaikh at Ajodhan in the presence of Shaikh Nizām-u'd-din Auliyā Both of them had expired long before Shaikh Nizām-u'd-din Auliyā reached Ajodhan and joined the discipline of Shaikh Farid (iii) Bābā Farid is made to meet a pupil of Shaikh Dhin-nūn-al Miṣri in Badakhshān. (iv) In the conversation of the years 1257-58 Bābā Farid is made to describe the death of Sher Khān who expired in 1264 A D., the death of Shaikh Bahā-u'd-din Zakariyyā who died in 1263, Shaikh Saif-u'd-din Bākharzi who died in 1259-60

APPENDIX C

Baba Farid and the Guru Granth

The Gurū Granth, compiled by Gurū Arjun in 1604 A D, has a chapter entitled "*Salok Shaikh Farid ke*" which contains 112 *Shalokas* of Shaikh Farid The authorship of these *Shalokas* is a moot point. Some scholars hold the view that Shaikh Farid-u'd-din Mas'ūd Ganj-i-Shakar is their real author Others think it improbable and ascribe them to Shaikh Ibrāhīm, who was a descendant of the great saint and had met and conversed with Gurū Nānak There are others who consider that the compositions of these two saints have been mixed up in these *Shalokas*

That Bāba Farid had a taste for poetry and that he could compose verses is beyond doubt This, too, is incontrovertible that he must have used the local dialects in conversing with the people living around him. A couplet composed by the Shaikh in the local dialect of Multān has also been quoted by Amir Khurd (*Siyar-u'l-Auliyā*, p 367) But we do not come across a single reference in the contemporary works to his having left such a large number of *Shalokas* Shaikh Nizām-u'd-din Auliyā and his successors have given interesting details about the Shaikh, his literary tastes his daily life, etc Had it really been a work of the great saint they could not possibly have ignored it It is, therefore, futile to attempt a decision on the basis of the external evidence The matter must be considered in the light of internal evidence

These *Shalokas* are in the *Multānī* language, but they contain a number of Arabic and Persian words e g گری‌واں (گریبان collar), لطیف (nice, dainty) عقل (wisdom), درویسی (درویشی sainthood), پریصلات (پل صراط The bridge over the eternal fire across which the Muslims believe they shall pass into Paradise), صبح (morning) صوف (wool), مصلہ (prayer carpet), عمل (action, ھاں (station), سلطان (king) روح (soul), رب (Nourisher), سیطان (شیطان Satan, Devil), پروردگار (Cherisher) دیدار (vision), محبت (love), ملک الموت (Izrael, the angle of death), عمر (age), نوبت (turn), دوجھ (دوزخ Hell)

The burthen of these *Shalokas* is Divine Love, need for the purification of inner life, value of penitences in spiritual progress, the ephemeral character of the human existence and other similar subjects Striking metaphors and similes, mostly borrowed from the atmosphere around, add to the effect of these *Shalokas*. They seem to be the gushes of a heart overflowing with Divine Love. They emphasize the ascetic aspect of spiritual discipline Taken as a whole, the picture of Shaikh

Farid that will emerge from these *Shalokas* will be more akin to the Shaikh Farid of the fabricated *malfūzāt*

Linguistic analysis of these *Shalokas* reveals that they contain idioms and expressions of a much later date The *nome de plume* used in these *Shalokas* is Farid, but the Shaikh used to refer to himself as Mas'ūd, not as Farid

That these *Sholokas* are not the actual compositions of the great saint seems almost certain, but the fact cannot be denied that they contain some traditional sayings of the Shaikh and refer to some of the popularly accepted and circulated incidents about his penitences *Shalokas* number 9, 10, 11, 12, 14, 18, 19, 20, 23, 24, 26, 27, 28, 33, 37, 39, 41, 43, 44 47, 50, 51, 54, 61, 70, 71, 72, 73, 84, 89, 90, 91, 99, 101 102, 103, 111, 112, and 116 refer to views and incidents which may, to some extent, be considered with reference to Shaikh Farid's teachings and the traditions about his penitences

Shaikh Ibrāhīm, a contemporary of Gurū Nānak, is probably the real author of these *Shalokas* and he has expressed in his own words some of the sayings of his great master

APPENDIX D

Sajjadah Nashins of Baba Farid's Khanqah

1. Shaikh Badr-u'd-din Sulaimān
2. Shaikh 'Alā-u'd-din
3. Shaikh Mu'iz-u'd-din
4. Shaikh Fadl
5. Shaikh Munawwar
6. Shaikh Nūr-u'd-din
7. Shaikh Bahā-u'd-din
8. Shaikh Muḥammad
9. Shaikh Aḥmad
10. Shaikh 'Atā-u'llah
11. Shaikh Muḥammad
12. Shaikh Ibrāhim
13. Shaikh Tāj-u'd-din Maḥmūd
14. Shaikh Faiḍ-u'llah
15. Shaikh Ibrāhim
16. Shaikh Muḥammad
17. Shaikh Muḥammad Ashraf
18. Shaikh Muḥammad Sa'id
19. Shaikh Muḥammad Yūsuf
20. Shaikh 'Abd-u's-Subḥān
21. Shaikh Ghulām Rasūl
22. Shaikh Muḥamad Yār
23. Shaikh Sharf-u'd-din
24. Shaikh Allah Jawāyā
25. Shaikh Sharf-u'd-din.

APPENDIX E

The Bihishti Darwazah (Door of Paradise)

Captain C M Wade writes —

" There are two doors to this apartment (in which the saint lies buried), *one to the north and one to the east* That to the east, called the " Door of Paradise," is never opened but on the fifth day of the sacred Moharram, when numbers of pilgrims, both Hindus and Muslims, come to visit the shrine, and all who pass through this door-way are considered saved from the fines of perdition The door-way is about two feet wide, and cannot be passed without stooping, and the apartment itself is not capable of containing thirty people crowded together yet such is the care which the saint takes of his votaries on these occasions, that no accident or loss of life has ever been known to occur. A superlative heaven is allotted to those who are first to enter the tomb on the day mentioned The rush of precedence may, therefore, be better imagined than described The crowd of pilgrims is said to be immense, and as they egress from the sacred door-way, after having rubbed their foreheads on the foot of the saint's grave, the air resounds with the shouts of FARID! FARID!" *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, March 1837, p 192

It is very difficult to trace the growth of this legend No contemporary, or even later, writer has referred to the Bihishti Darwāzah.

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